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# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

GEORGE GUNTON, EDITOR

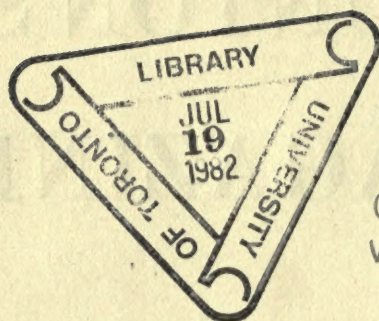
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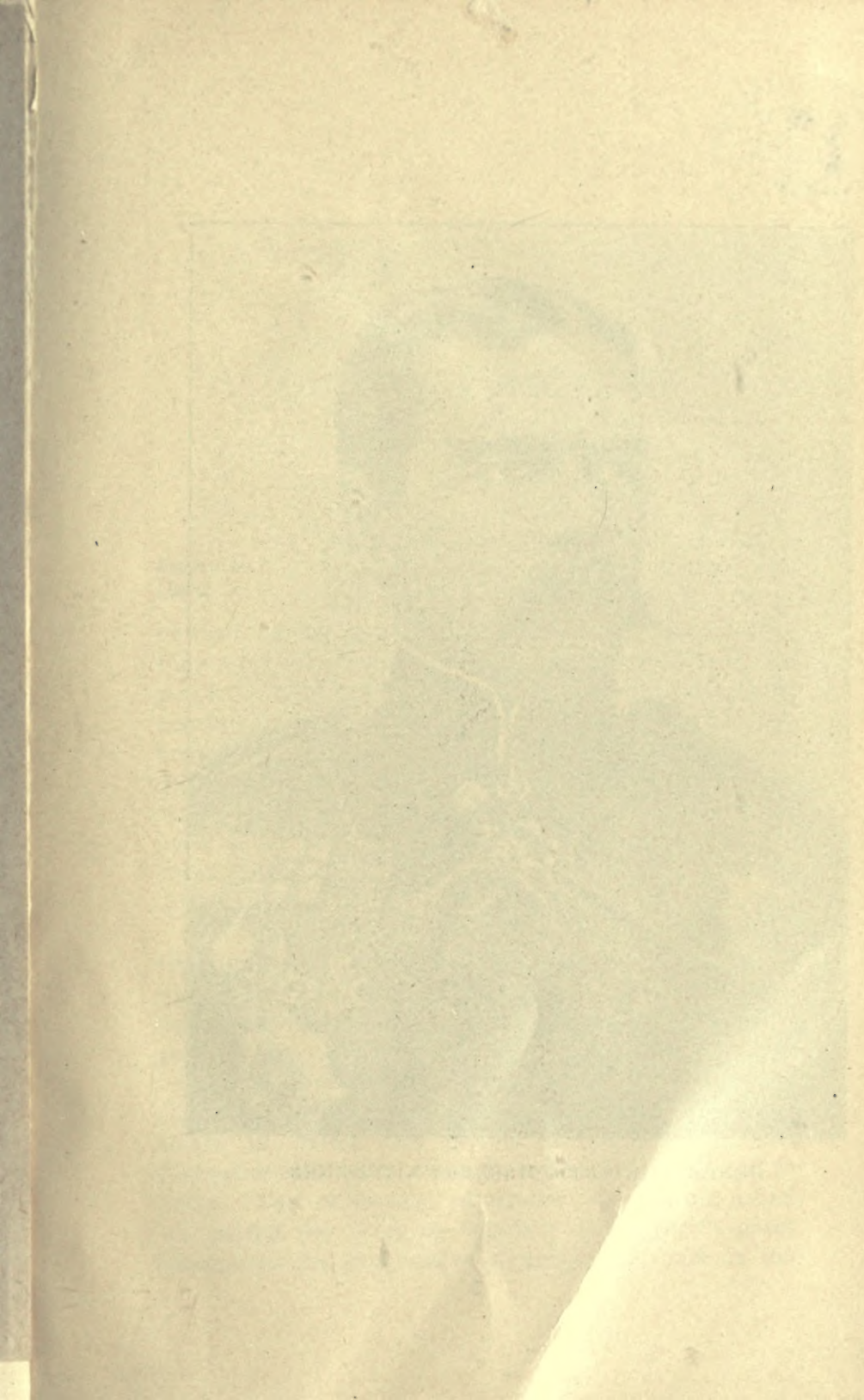
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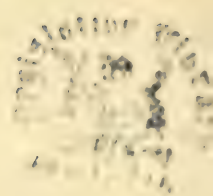




GENERAL HORATIO HERBERT KITCHENER.



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# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

## REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Peace with  
Honor

Peace has come at last in South Africa,—peace with honor to both British and Boers. That two small South African nations, having a total population of but little more than a million, should have been able to withstand the power of the British empire in desperate warfare for nearly three years is an extraordinary tribute to their bravery, determination and resourcefulness, however mistaken the narrow and exclusive policies which led them into this unnecessary and hopeless struggle. Moreover, under the liberal provisions of the peace agreement, the Boer submission now is not at all an “unconditional” surrender.

For the British also the result brings honor, greater than the mere glory of victory—the honor of voluntary magnanimity to the defeated, the honor which is always due to considerate self-restraint in the use of vast power.

Peace comes, moreover, in a way and under circumstances bright with promise for the future of civilization in Africa, not merely in South Africa, but throughout the great central region from the Cape to Cairo. The unification of control now accomplished will permit the bringing together of England's great enterprises for progressive development, both in the

North and South of the dark continent, and lead to rapid opening up of the intervening section on a wide scale. As a great additional basis for this process of development, the two Boer colonies are destined to share in the prosperity and advancement in store for the whole territory to an extent that could not have been approached, perhaps for centuries, if they had remained purely distinct, immovable, obstructing groups, opposing and hampering the advance of progress at every step and persistently blind to their own larger interests. It is quite possible that if the powers in control of the Boer policy had been sufficiently enlightened to grant reasonable democratic privileges to the advance agents of modern civilization in South Africa, fostering instead of obstructing free industrial development with political and educational opportunities, they could have retained their independence in South Africa as naturally as Holland and Belgium and Denmark maintain themselves undisturbed among their powerful European neighbors, and could have become important co-operators in the great advance movement. Even if a liberal policy by the Boers, in view of the steady inflow of immigration had resulted in time in a natural passing of political control into other hands, by the mere fact of the overwhelming outnumbering of the old Boer population, it would simply have been the conclusive evidence that such an outcome was inevitable in the nature of the case. Only, it would then have come without the terrible cost of war and humiliation of forced surrender of national independence.

**The Terms of  
Surrender**

Among the significant evidences of fitness to exercise the authority now secured in South Africa are the magnanimous terms accorded by England to the defeated enemy. Having spent more than \$800,000,000 in this war,



sent an army of nearly 300,000 men into the field, lost more than 20,000 of them in killed and wounded, with nearly 70,000 returned home sick or otherwise disabled, and assumed a heavy increase of taxation to extend over many years to come, it might have been supposed that the victors by this time would accept nothing but absolute, unconditional surrender; but better counsels prevailed. The desire for peace had become so intense that the English government wisely decided to offer the most liberal terms rather than invite any further prolonging of the tremendously costly contest.

These terms, accepted by the Boer leaders on May 31st, provide, first, for the laying down of arms and acknowledgment of the English sovereignty; second, for the return to South Africa of all Boer prisoners of war who accept the terms of peace; third, guarantee the personal liberty and property rights of these returned prisoners; fourth, guarantee that no civil or criminal proceedings will be taken against any Boers for acts committed during the war, except such as are declared in court martial to be contrary to the usages of war; fifth, guarantee the teaching of the Dutch language where the parents desire it, and also allow its use in courts of law; sixth, guarantee to the Boers the right of possessing rifles on taking out a license; seventh, promise a civil government to succeed military government at the earliest possible date, and "so soon as circumstances permit, representative institutions leading up to self-government will be introduced;" eighth, postpone the question of the franchise for natives until after self-government is introduced; ninth, guarantee that no special tax will be imposed on Boer landed property to defray expenses of the war; tenth, promise the appointment of a commission, on which the Boers shall be represented, to assist in restoring the people to their homes, supplying food and shelter, seed, stock, imple-

ments, etc., to the extent of \$15,000,000 to be given outright by the British government; and it is agreed to recognize notes issued by the South African republic, and other evidence of war losses, when presented to the commission with proper evidence that they represent goods actually furnished or losses sustained. In addition, the English government promises, over and above the \$15,000,000, to make loans free of interest for two years, and thereafter for a period of years at 3 per cent., for these same purposes; although, naturally, "no foreigner or rebel will be entitled to benefit under this clause." It is provided also, with reference to British subjects in Cape Colony who had joined the Boer forces, that the rank and file shall be considered guilty of high treason, the punishment to be permanent disfranchisement; those higher in rank to have their punishment determined upon trial, "with the proviso that in no case shall the penalty of death be inflicted," unless, of course, any are found guilty of murder. Rebels in Natal, it is provided, are to be dealt with "according to the laws of that colony."

These terms, inspired in part no doubt by the British king's intense desire to have peace concluded before his coronation, is likewise a tacit recognition of the valor of the defeated Boers, and their undoubted ability to prolong the struggle for many costly months to come, if harsher conditions were imposed. In the broader aspect of the matter, the conciliatory attitude of the British government is evidence of wise statesmanship, looking towards harmony for the future rather than revenge for the past. Without it, peace in South Africa would have meant simply iron suppression on one side and submission with sullen hatred on the other, perhaps for decades; with it, there is hope for an early wearing away of the bitterness of war and friendly reunion of races for mutual welfare and progress. Such



an expectation seems the more firmly grounded when a fighter like DeWet, for so long the most determined "irreconcilable" of them all, not only accepts the terms but exhibits the spirit shown in his circular letter to his adjutants, sent out from Bloemfontein, June 16th, in which he says:

"Let me tell you that you and I and every burgher can win the hearts of the new government by our future conduct, and of this conduct I am not in the least doubtful."

**The Man  
Who Did It**      From the standpoint of American public interest, at least, the central figure in the foreign situation, coronation splendors to the contrary notwithstanding, is not King Edward, but the masterful "organizer of victory" in South Africa. Lord Kitchener's genius is of the kind which has been aptly described as "capacity for hard work," and the solid merits of this quality of character have rarely been more convincingly illustrated than in the history of his career. It has been said that Kitchener is not a great battle general, being easily exceeded by Roberts in that respect; but in the planning and carrying out of comprehensive military movements on a vast scale, in the face of complex conditions and immense difficulties, he has few if any equals in British military annals. Neither Roberts nor Kitchener have the remarkable combination of qualities General Grant possessed—brilliant generalship in battle, with equally brilliant capacity for organization and persistent following up of a campaign; but the wise judgment of the British government in placing both officers in the field conjointly brought together most effectively these two essential elements of military success. In other words, Roberts and Kitchener were to the campaign in South Africa what Grant was to the war for the union, and in both cases success came at last by the persistent hammering which, little by little, wears resistance down to the vanishing point.

Lord Kitchener's rise to fame has been slow but sure. He gained his first experience with alien races in an engineering survey of Palestine and as military consul in Asia Minor. As a part of his equipment he learned the languages of the people with whom he had to deal, and continued this when, later on, he entered the military service in Egypt. Here his intimate knowledge of native languages and customs, combined with untiring energy and resourcefulness, brought him in due time into chief command. This was in 1892, and for the next four years Kitchener devoted every effort to the organization of a campaign against the Mahdi and his savage horde of dervishes who had taken Khartoum and were menacing British dominion throughout the whole region of the upper Nile. So perfect in all its details was the vast military machine Kitchener fitted together during this time that, when it finally moved into action, its impact was irresistible. By 1898 Khartoum was retaken and during the following year the remnants of the Mahdi's followers were driven into the deserts, scattered far and wide, and the power of the dervishes utterly broken. This was the service that made Kitchener the man of the immediate future on the military side of British foreign policy.

In the South African war, although the leadership was in the hands of Roberts, the preliminary organizing and outlining of the campaign had been done by Kitchener, so that when the great army was ready to start for the relief of Kimberly it moved with the precision of clockwork, and so rapidly that in less than four months the British flag had been carried through to Bloemfontein, Johannesburg and Pretoria. The hardest work of all, however, came after Lord Roberts returned to England in December, 1900; and from that time on Kitchener was the guiding power in a campaign of innumerable difficulties and frequent disheartening



setbacks. In his effort to corner the wary Boers, he built chain after chain of blockhouses, connected by hundreds of miles of barbed wire meshes, only to have them forced again and again by the Boer commandoes, driving herds of cattle ahead of them to break through these barricades. But, little by little, the field of operations was so reduced that the Boers not actually captured had practically nothing left worth fighting for, and wisely accepted the present terms rather than invite ultimate annihilation. To bring about the present result needed precisely the Kitchener type of generalship, and it was England's good fortune just at the critical time to have the man for the deed. Parliament has voted him a grant of £50,000, and in all probability he will before long become the head of the British army.

**Protective  
Tendencies  
in England**

The enormous financial burden of the Boer war, exceeding even the cost of the peninsula campaign against Napoleon in 1813-1814, has forced the British government to extraordinary revenue measures, and perhaps opened the way for the permanent return of a protective policy. At any rate, it has brought about England's first serious departure from the free trade traditions of the last half century. The chancellor of the exchequer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, on April 14th presented his budget for the coming year, showing estimated expenditures, including war charges, of about £193,000,000 and estimated revenues of less than £148,000,000, leaving a deficit of £45,000,000. This, in accordance with his proposition, it has been decided to meet in part by various new taxes and customs and a loan of £32,000,000. The new revenues consist of a tax of one penny on dividend warrants, an increase in the tax on checks from one penny to twopence, an increase of one penny on the

pound in the income tax, and a revival of the long abandoned "corn laws" to the extent of a duty of threepence per cwt. on all imported grain and fivepence per cwt. on flour and meal.

These new grain and flour duties are estimated to yield about £2,650,000. That the chancellor of the exchequer should have had the audacity to break in upon the most sacred tenet of English economic and fiscal doctrine for the sake of this comparatively small revenue shows clearly enough the change that has been coming over English public sentiment on this subject during the last few years. Although the new duties have no direct relation to the Chamberlain scheme of an imperial customs union, whereby England and all her colonies should have free trade among themselves and protection against all outsiders, they indicate, nevertheless, a gradual drift of English public opinion towards the protectionist idea. These new duties, it is safe to assume, reflect something of Mr. Chamberlain's influence in the British cabinet, if for no other reason than the colonial secretary's well-known interest in bringing about fresh discussion of the tariff situation as a way of helping to make English public opinion familiar with the idea of a change in policy, and so preparing the ground for his larger measure of the customs union. That he is taking advantage of this new opportunity for discussion appears from his notable speech at Birmingham, on May 16th, of which the London *Economist* says:

"Mr. Chamberlain is impressed by the novelty of the methods of competition we have to face. 'The empire is being attacked on all sides.' Everywhere we have to contend with 'great combinations, with enormous trusts having behind them gigantic wealth.' New dangers cannot be met by 'adherence to old and antiquated methods, which were perfectly right at the time at which they were developed.' We must meet hostility abroad by greater unity at home, and by a wider conception of the meaning of home. Home stands for far more than the British islands. It stands for the British empire—not only for the United Kingdom, but for the colonies in every quarter of the globe. Our



destiny depends upon the degree in which we accept those opportunities of union which the colonies offer us. Our business and our duty is to 'draw closer our internal relations—the ties of sentiment, the ties of sympathy, yes, and the ties of interest.' Nor is this merely a rhetorical outburst. Its real meaning is made clear by Mr. Chamberlain's reference to 'economic pedantry' and 'old shibboleths.' If we are not prepared to abandon free trade and to impose import duties for other objects than the raising of revenue we show 'that lack of imagination, that lack of foresight which distinguishes, and always has distinguished, the Little Englander and the Little Scotchman.' After this there can be no question as to Mr. Chamberlain's attitude towards free traders."

In this country the free-trade press is naturally inclined to scout the idea that these new duties point in any sense toward a return of protective policies in England. Having once enjoyed the blessings of free trade, the notion that any circumstances whatever could arise tending to set England's face again toward protection appears to the free-trade mind, on this side of the water at least, among the unthinkable impossibilities. The *Boston Herald* is one of the exceptions to this rule, however, and frankly calls the new move "a step, although admittedly a short one, toward a protective policy rather than the free-trade principles which have governed Great Britain for years." And in another editorial it said (April 16th):

"We think that, even if the war in South Africa should be brought to a speedy end; this customs tax upon grain and flour will be indefinitely continued, and that, as we said above, it represents the first step taken by England in a changed economic policy. If it is found in the near future that sufficient revenues are collected to pay the current expenses of the government, after an abatement has been made in the income tax and one or two other special charges, it will, we believe, be held to be expedient to remit this duty upon grain and flour so far as concerns such commodities as are the products of England's colonies. In other words, we feel confident that this is the beginning of a change which Mr. Joseph Chamberlain has been gradually working toward, which is intended to bind the mother country and her outlying offspring in much closer economic and trade bonds than have existed in the recent past."

However unimportant the new policy may seem to some American free traders, it is quite apparent that few illusions

on the subject are being entertained in England. It has already become a party issue, the liberals preparing to make war on the "revival of the corn laws" and the conservatives defending the duties on their specific merits but trying to avoid responsibility for protectionist doctrine as such, realizing of course that English sentiment is hardly prepared for this as yet. Those who regard the new move as distinctly protective, both in character and tendencies, do not need to exaggerate the situation or invent unwarranted inferences when a paper like the *London Economist* sounds a warning to Cobdenism, describing the chancellor's scheme as a "proposed return to the vices of protection," and voices also its protest "against the revival of protective taxation, especially of taxes that must press most heavily upon the poorest class of the community, and against the return to a vicious fiscal system which it was believed we had forever abandoned."

The leader of the liberal opposition, Sir William Vernon Harcourt, seems equally clear as to the real significance of the new policy, judging from his opening speech in opposing the budget. According to the *London correspondent of the New York Tribune*:

"He opposed the tax on corn, as Cobden or Bright might have done as a burden which would fall upon the masses—the poorest of the poor. When the chancellor of the exchequer contended that so small a tax could not affect the price or consumption of an article of universal use, he was repeating a fallacy of the old time protectionists. It might be said of a great many other articles that the price would not be affected by putting a shilling duty on them. Why, then, did the chancellor object to levying taxes on a great number of commodities for revenue purposes? That was an incisive question which revealed the real importance of the new departure in fiscal system. The return to a registration duty on grain and flour naturally opens the way for a restoration of indirect taxation on a large scale. It is idle to discuss when the registration duty was discontinued or how Sir Robert Peel's sliding scale for the gradual repeal of the corn laws was introduced and carried out. The chancellor's own citations of free trade arguments were, as Sir William Harcourt roughly said, absolutely self destructive from the Cobdenite



point of view. The tax on corn might be a little one, but it exposed the entire free trade system to irresistible invasion. It marked the beginning of the end of Cobdenite tradition and practice.

The situation is full of interest. It seems only a question of time when the increasing pressure of competition with British industries, both in the English colonies and even in England's home markets, will practically force the giving up, in part at least, of the free trade policy. This policy served its purpose so long as England's economic superiority to all competitors removed the necessity of any protective defence, but that superiority is now being disputed on every hand, and English statesmen are preparing to adjust the fiscal policy of the empire to the changed conditions.

#### New Capitalistic Economies

Several new developments in the industrial world have given fresh illustration, recently, of the irresistible tendency to economize all unnecessary elements of waste in production. Wherever possible, these economies are sought in the details of productive processes, but for several years past the larger items of saving have come through concentration of rival concerns, eliminating as far as possible all waste of duplication, needless transportation, superfluous middlemen, and the various higher costs per unit that usually attend production on a small scale.

One of the interesting recent consolidations is the Havana Tobacco Company, formed to take over several smaller concerns engaged in Cuban tobacco trade, the new corporation being controlled, it is understood, by practically the same interests as the American Tobacco Company. The new arrangement affords a closer touch between tobacco interests in Cuba and the United States, and follows very naturally upon the final adjustment of Cuban affairs on a definite basis, terminating the long period of uncertainty. Such a consolidation, by the way, is in itself a refutation of the bugaboo alarm now

being raised as a part of the reciprocity campaign, that unless Cuba has free trade with the United States her commerce will be almost entirely diverted to Europe. The absurdity of such kind of prophecy is already becoming manifest.

Much larger and more significant is the new shipping combination which is expected to be completed by the end of the present year. The scheme now being worked out by J. P. Morgan & Company contemplates the union of the White Star Line, the American Line, the Dominion Line, the Atlantic Transport Company, and the Leyland Line in one great corporation having a capital stock of \$120,000,000, one-half preferred and one-half common, and \$50,000,000 of 4½ per cent. 20-year bonds. The importance of this arrangement, in respect to possible economies in ocean transportation expenses, and reduction of through rail and ocean rates on American products to European markets, hardly needs pointing out, and it is this which in reality has been at the bottom of the hostile European criticism on the new deal, even more than wounded pride.

In this country the shipping combination is referred to for the most part as simply one more step in the gradual "Morganization" of earth, sea and sky, but the obvious impossibility of ever creating a monopoly in the ocean-carrying trade has modified the tone of whatever hostile comment there is. It may be that for a time this combination will afford no cheapening in ocean transportation, but it is likely at least to promote uniformity of rates and thereby help check some of the evils of discrimination against various ports in the distribution of outbound shipments from the West.

Another of the methods that are being employed for productive economy is the getting control of raw material supplies and adjusting their production to the conditions and needs of the manufacture of the finished



commodity. For example: the United States Steel Corporation is now reported to be taking steps toward making all its own pig iron instead of buying a large part of it from outside dealers, as at present. This would undoubtedly effect a further cheapening of production for the big corporation, but it could hardly be regarded as an effort to monopolize the industry, inasmuch as the withdrawal of the steel corporation from the pig iron market would leave, if anything, a clearer field for independent manufacturers in the purchase of their raw material.

These constant efforts to save useless expense are undertaken, of course, in the hope of increased profits of operation, and for a time that is the concrete result. But every such economy effected is simply one more prop taken from under any given price level, which always rests upon the basis of the highest cost portion of the product required by the market. The net result in time is a decline of prices, thus yielding much, if not all, the final advantage of the new economies to the consuming public.

**Current Price  
Comparisons**

The following are the latest wholesale price quotations, showing comparison with previous dates:

	June 21, 1901	May 21, 1902	June 21, 1902
Flour, Minn. patent (bbl. 196 lbs.)	\$3.65	\$3.95	\$3.95
Wheat, No. 2 red (bushel) . . . .	76½	92½	80½
Corn, No. 2 mixed (bushel) . . . .	47	70½	69
Oats, No. 2 mixed (bushel) . . . .	32½	46	46½
Pork, mess (bbl., 200 lbs.) . . . .	15.75	18.25	19.00
Beef, hams (bbl., 200 lbs.) . . . .	21.50	21.50	22.50
Coffee, Rio No. 7 (lb.) . . . . .	6½	5½	5½
Sugar, granulated (lb.) . . . . .	5½	4½	4½
Butter, creamery, extra (lb.) . . .	19½	22	22½
Cheese, State, f. c., small, fancy (lb.)	9½	12½	9½
Cotton, middling upland (lb.) . . .	8½	9½	9½
Print cloths (yard) . . . . .	2½	3½	3½

	June 21, 1901	May 21, 1902	June 21, 1902
Petroleum, refined, in bbls. (gal.)	6 <sup>80</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	7 <sup>85</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	7 <sup>85</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
Hides, native steers (lb.) . . . .	12	12 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	12 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Leather, hemlock (lb.) . . . .	24 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	24 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	24 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry (ton 2000 lbs.) . . . . .	16.00	19.75	21.00
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry (ton 2000 lbs.) . . . . .	15.00	19.00	20.50
Tin, Straits (100 lbs.) . . . .	28.50	30.00	28.62 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Copper, Lake ingot (100 lbs.) . .	17.00	12.37 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	12.00
Lead, domestic (100 lbs.) . . . .	4.37 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	4.12 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	4.12 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Tinplate, 100 lbs., I. C., 14x20. .	—	4.35	4.35
Steel rails (ton 2000 lbs.) . . . .	—	28.00	28.00
Wire nails (Pittsburg), (keg 100 lbs.) . . . . .	—	2.05	2.05

English prices of staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*, are as follows:

	June 7, 1901			May 2, 1902			June 6, 1902		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Steel rails (long ton, 2,240 lbs.) . .	5	0	0	5	10	0	5	10	0
Scotch pig iron (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	2	13	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	2	13	6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	2	14	4
Copper ( " " )	69	3	9	52	17	6	54	7	6
Tin, Straits ( " " )	131	7	6	130	15	0	135	5	0
Lead, English pig ( " " )	12	13	9	12	0	0	11	10	0
Cotton, middling upland (lb.) . .	0	0	4 <sup>9</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	0	0	5 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	0	0	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>16</sub>
Petroleum (gallon) . . . . .	0	0	5 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	0	0	6 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	0	0	6 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>16</sub>

(American equivalents of English money: pound — \$4.866; shilling — 24.3 cents; penny — 2.03 cents.)

*Dun's Review* shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities, averaged according to importance in per capita consumption, for June 1 and comparison with previous dates, as follows:

	Jan. 1, 1892	June 1, 1898	June 1, 1899	June 1, 1900	June 1, 1901	May 1, 1902	June 1, 1902
Breadstuffs. . . .	\$17.700	\$15.388	\$13.610	\$13.289	\$15.635	\$19.959	\$19.241
Meats . . . . .	7.895	7.786	7.726	8.687	9.224	10.968	11.269
Dairy and garden	13.180	11.946	11.703	11.409	13.161	14.737	13.657
Other food . . . .	9.185	8.554	9.183	9.324	9.116	8.742	8.744
Clothing . . . . .	13.430	14.783	15.051	16.746	14.882	15.527	15.539
Metals. . . . .	14.665	11.857	15.608	15.799	15.249	15.702	15.903
Miscellaneous. . .	13.767	12.614	12.914	16.575	16.532	16.654	16.815

Total . . . . \$89.822 \$82.928 \$85.795 \$91.829 \$93.799 102.289 101.168



The advance of the warm weather season is resulting at last in some yielding in prices of grain, dairy and garden products, but as yet the changes are slight.

Meats continue to advance, in response to the continued high prices of live stock available for meat supply, a condition which, so long as it exists, will keep meat prices high regardless of government proceedings against the so-called beef "trust."

There are slight advances in the metals and miscellaneous groups: that in metals being largely due to the continued advances in pig iron, while staple manufactured metals, like steel rails and wire nails, remain stationary. Raw tin, which advanced during May, is now on the decline; although it still remains higher than on April 21st, tinplates meanwhile remaining unchanged. Neither in iron nor tin, evidently, are the fluctuations sufficiently important or indicative of a sufficiently permanent tendency to affect the prices of the staple finished products.

## THE ADMINISTRATION AND CUBA

Every friend of good government, regardless of party, must regret the muddle in which the administration has become involved regarding Cuba. When Mr. Roosevelt succeeded to the presidency he did not represent, and could hardly be said to have, the entire confidence of the managers of the party machine in the different states. He represented the spirit of clean, frank, strong Americanism, was thoroughly democratic, conspicuously honest, and above all, open-handed and straightforward.

Whatever else might happen, the nation was united in believing that his administration would be "as clean as a hound's tooth." His first message to congress was a masterpiece of clear statement, and was sound on the money, tariff and other great questions of national importance. The only misgiving entertained regarding him was that he might be indiscreet, and through inexperience make some mistakes, but the people felt that they would only be mistakes of judgment and never of purpose.

But in assuming office under the peculiar circumstances the president labored under certain disadvantages. He did not have the advantage of the close and confidential advice of the men of greatest experience. Elihu Root and General Leonard Wood seem to have exercised the controlling influence as his advisers. Mr. Root being secretary of war made this specially unfortunate, as he was directly more in touch than any other member of the administration with our relations to Cuba, under the period of military government. Mr. Root is an able lawyer and tenacious worker, but he never was conspicuous for his interest in or knowledge of great public questions of industrial and fiscal policy.



On protection, for instance, he was always a half-hearted weakling, more favorable to a revenue than a protective tariff. Naturally, therefore, in dealing with the industrial policy towards the new possessions, his opinions at once asserted themselves in the direction of free trade or minimum protection through reciprocity. It was through his influence that free trade was established with Porto Rico, which was the first opening of this disturbing question of the tariff, which now threatens to sever the republican party in two sections.

In dealing with Cuba Mr. Root's anti-protection influence in the administration has been conspicuous. It is quite clear from all of the president's utterances that his great desire was to assume a liberal policy towards Cuba, but a policy entirely consistent with adequate protection to American industries. Mr. Root, who is a bright but doggedly pugnacious man, insisted on having his way and proceeded to project the policy of a low tariff for Cuban products. In this he easily commanded the co-operation of General Wood, who was his subordinate, and equally indifferent to the policy of protection. It was evidently his purpose to apply as much as possible of his Porto Rican policy to Cuba. Accordingly, in their reports to congress, both the secretary and Governor-General Wood made reduction of duties to Cuba the burden of their official papers. In this way they practically started a campaign for either free sugar or as low duties on Cuban products as possible.

This, of course, elicited the praise and support of the pronounced free trade journals of the country. Under this influence the Cubans' agents organized a movement to ask for a reduction in the duty on sugar and tobacco and presented a petition to the president, who very wisely refrained from any special endorsement of the movement, always assuming a sympathetic inter-

est in the affairs and future of Cuba. When this movement began to assume definite proportions, and the petition was about to be presented by the Cubans to congress, the American refiners decided to take a hand, and they boldly made a demand upon the Cubans that they present a petition for free sugar, which was accompanied by the threat that if the Cubans refused the American refiners would defeat whatever aid they might ask for, and they declared they could do it.

With the encouragement of the secretary of war and Governor-General Wood, the Cubans acquiesced in this demand and asked for the abolition of the duty on Cuban sugar, claiming that Cuban sugar planters would be ruined if that were not conceded at once. Thus the contest over Cuban sugar was between the friends of protection to American sugar and other industries on the one side, and the advocates of free sugar for Cuba, the secretary of war, the governor-general of Cuba and the American sugar trust on the other.

As the contest advanced, the free trade forces of the country lined up stronger and stronger behind Messrs. Root, Wood and Havemeyer for the free sugar policy. American sugar manufacturers and all who support them were traduced and abused as corruptionists and parasites, plunderers of the public treasury, and everything indeed but respectable promoters of American enterprise. As the impossibility of free sugar became more and more apparent, the demand for tariff concessions was modified little by little until it was changed from free sugar to a 20 per cent. tariff reduction. In the meantime Root and Wood had practically become the administration on this subject, and the president, under their influence, finally took sides against the protectionist party. There was really no disagreement between the protectionists in congress and the president on the question of rendering generous aid to Cuba.



It was only a difference as to the mode of doing it. The protectionists wanted it done without tinkering with the tariff. They said to reduce the tariff would be to disturb the faith of the people in the stability of protection, and frighten capital away from the beet sugar industry, which would be disastrous to its development.

If the progress that industry has made during the last two years could continue for ten or a dozen years, we would produce three-quarters or more of our entire sugar supply. This would enable an immense new industry, employing American capital and labor, to produce at home what we have been paying one hundred millions a year for to foreign countries.

Nor was there any difference between the president and protectionists as to how much should be given for the relief of Cuban planters, but as a matter of principle and stable policy protectionists opposed changing the tariff schedule and suggested two or three other ways, prominent among which was a rebate. But Messrs. Root, Wood and Havemeyer insisted that the relief must come in the form of a reduced tariff, and thus the issue was made between protectionists and non-protectionists on this question, and unfortunately Elihu Root and Governor-General Wood gradually succeeded in committing the administration and ultimately the president to this position.

And now we have the spectacle of the administration and the protectionist element of the republican party arrayed against each other in congress. That of itself is unfortunate because it puts the president in the position of failing to lead his party. If the 20 per cent. reduction bill fails to pass, as it probably will, then the administration is in the position of being in a minority. Under the English system of government that would require the resignation of the ministry and the formation of a new cabinet, because it practically amounts to

a vote of want of confidence in the administration by congress.

All this is unfortunate in many respects; first, because it lends encouragement to tariff agitators, whose influence is inevitably to disturb business and check the national prosperity. It is unfortunate because it is a great disappointment to the friends of clean, wholesome politics throughout the country, who hoped and expected so much from Mr. Roosevelt's administration. It is unfortunate because it has already greatly disturbed the confidence in the continued protection to the sugar industry, and will prevent millions of capital going into domestic sugar production, thereby inflicting an industrial injury upon several states in the union. But it is specially unfortunate in that it has developed a new form of improper political methods.

In order to accomplish their ends Mr. Root and Governor Wood have used the funds in the public treasury for political campaign purposes. Never before in the history of this country have the cabinet officers of the nation used public funds for political party propaganda. This may not be technically criminal, as Messrs. Root and Wood had arbitrary authority, but it is as dishonorable and as contrary to the letter and spirit of clean administration and democratic government as it would be if Secretary Shaw were to spend the money in the United States treasury to secure Mr. Roosevelt's renomination and election.

It now appears that Mr. Root carried this principle of imperialism still further, and spent public money to influence the election of a president in Cuba by paying large sums to General Gomez for his political influence, and we are told that Mr. Root sustained Governor Wood in all this use of public funds for party purposes by the statement that it was for the good of Cuba.

When Pitt bought the Irish parliament, to pass the



act of union, it was for the good of the kingdom. On the same principle, when the czar sends the advocates of personal freedom or constitutional government to Siberia it is for the good of the empire. As well might Secretary Carlisle have contributed a million to the campaign fund for the re-election of Cleveland, for the good of the republic.

All this is very bad business; it is in violation of every principle of high, honest administration; it is the worst form of the doctrine that the end justifies the means. Of course, it is not supposed that President Roosevelt authorized either Wood's misuse of the public funds for political purposes in this tariff war, or his purchase of General Gomez's political influence in Cuba; but the facts remain. It is for the president to say whether he will stand for that, and for the methods such acts represent, or will do the only other thing left, ask Mr. Root to resign.

## COAL STRIKE AND THE PUBLIC

It is a great mistake for either party to the present coal strike to assume that the dispute is altogether a private affair. To be sure, it is a disagreement between miners and mine owners over the wages and conditions that one shall give and the other receive. But the public is seriously affected by their conduct. Besides materially interfering with public business, and abnormally raising the price of fuel, the present strike is creating great public inconvenience and injury to property by compelling the use of soft in place of hard coal.

In large cities this amounts to a disfiguration of buildings and a filthiness that reduces cities like New York to the smoky and besmeared level of London, Sheffield and Pittsburg. It is needless to say that such a condition ought not and cannot be permitted to continue. A way will be found to protect the public interest in matters of trade dispute just as in all other matters, by one method or another.

One of two things is sure, sooner or later, to come. Either the people through the government will take a hand in adjusting labor disputes, or employers and laborers must find an amicable and rational method of adjusting economic differences so as to avoid unreasonable and unnecessary disturbances of business and public convenience. If the government has to step in and more or less arbitrarily decide matters of controversy between laborers and employers, it will only be a little while before the next step will be demanded: namely, that the government own and control the industries,—and in the case of the railroads this would not be difficult to accomplish.

This idea is already showing itself in a hundred forms. Almost every effort at industrial reform has more or less of this socialistic element in it. Of course,



the tendency to call in the government in such matters is a movement in the wrong direction, since it leads to the maximum amount of arbitrary decision by those who are least competent to judge of the subtle relations and equities of the situation, because they are farthest removed from the experience and interests in the problems to be adjusted. All economic matters can best be adjusted by those who are most directly interested and intimately acquainted with the conditions, and most directly affected by the results. Hence the laborers and employers, the two parties to the controversy, are by far the most competent, and indeed the only competent, parties to deal with it. Still if the right of private contract is to continue it is the duty of the public to insist that both parties shall have an equal opportunity in the industrial field. If one party insists upon exercising rights that it denies to the other, and a strike with disaster to the public is the result, the party forcing such one-sided relation should be, and surely will be, held responsible, with all that implies.

The private ownership and control of property is not an absolute right; it is only a right protected and sustained by the government and civilization so long as the property is used consistently with the rights of others and the welfare of the community. All unnecessary disturbance of industrial conditions and suspension of public service the state has a right to prevent. It is not to be assumed that disagreements will not arise and that strikes will never occur, but it is to be insisted that they shall not be brought about and the public injured merely to enforce a one-sided relation which makes equal right of contract impossible. In this particular case it will be observed that one party to the controversy is a group of chartered, privileged corporations, having exclusive franchises received from the government. For this reason the public has an

additional right to insist that they shall be especially considerate of the public welfare, and in no sense unnecessarily injure the public by arbitrary and offensive conduct.

Considered from this point of view, how stands the case in the present coal strike? In the first place, the anthracite coal mines involved in this strike are almost exclusively owned by the railroads. This tends to complicate the matter, because it is more difficult to ascertain the economic equity of the respective parties. Of course, the cost of transportation of coal, as much as the expense of mining, is a part of the cost of producing coal; but it is an easy matter for the railroads to make the profits on coal mining appear small by charging a high rate of transportation. It is only a matter of which pocket the profits shall go into. This adds to the difficulty of ascertaining the ability of the corporations to concede new demands of the miners without loss, a difficulty which is increased by the fact that there is no competition in freights from this coal field. In view of all this, added to the further fact that the railroads have an agreement among themselves as to rates of freight and all other methods of treating both labor and the public, it is absolutely essential to any approximate fairness between the parties that the laborers should at least have the same right of associated action as the mine owners. To deny this is to deny the first principle of fairness in the conditions of making contracts and conducting economic bargains. It is an unfortunate phase of this strike that the coal mine owners, or the railroads, have at the outset violated this essential condition of industrial equity.

The facts in the case are about like this: The anthracite coal miners, who are not a very refined and cultivated body of men, had no national organization until two years ago. Before that time they were organized



only in local unions with a good deal of incoherence and altogether lacking general leadership. In 1899 and 1900 the coal miners' unions in the anthracite coal fields joined the bituminous coal miners and became a part of the United Mine Workers' Union of America. In the late summer of 1900 they asked for a 10 per cent. increase of wages and recognition of their union. This was on the eve of the presidential election, and to persist in the unfairness of refusing to recognize the right of laborers to organize on the same footing as capital might have seriously affected the results of the election. Hence the corporations recognized the miners' union and gave the increase of wages, which was clearly justified by the general prosperity and all the circumstances of the case. Besides settling the strike, this put the laborers in a cheerful mood, established good will and harmony throughout the entire coal fields, in which more than a quarter of a million laborers were employed and no doubt largely affected the political temper of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of voters.

This fact had much to do in making possible the industrial conference in New York last winter, in which representatives of the great corporations and labor unions met on equal terms and formed a national board of conciliation, which promised so much for harmony and good will between capital and organized labor in this country. Had the fairness and good nature manifested at that conference continued, it is more than probable that the present strike would not have occurred.

The first step in the present controversy appears to have been a letter from President Mitchell of the United Mine Workers' Union to the presidents of the mine owning railroads, asking that a conference be called of the representatives of the mining companies and representatives of the labor unions to adjust the scale of wa-

ges for the coming year, which was simply living up to the arrangement established in 1900. Instead of acceding to this request and relying on a fair, open consideration of any proposition presented, the presidents of the railroads wrote a letter recanting their action in 1900 and refused to consider the proposition of a conference with the representatives of organized labor.

Mr. George F. Baer, president of the Philadelphia & Reading railroad, set forth the case at great length, and the reply of the presidents of the Lackawanna, the Erie, the Ontario & Western and the Delaware & Hudson Canal companies was of the same purport and frequently identical in language. Among the things Mr. Baer said are the following:

"This company does not favor the plan of having its relations with the miners disturbed every year. The proposition to unsettle all the labor conditions of the various anthracite districts each year by holding a conference between persons who are not interested in anthracite mining and cannot have the technical knowledge of the varying conditions at each colliery, is so unbusinesslike that no one charged with the grave responsibility of conducting industrial enterprises can safely give countenance to it. We will always receive and consider every application *of the men in our employ*. We will endeavor to correct every abuse, to right every wrong, to deal justly and fairly with them, and to give every man fair compensation for the work he performs. Beyond this we cannot go."

A few days later, March 14th, 1902, the operators posted the following notice at each colliery:

"The rates of wages now in effect will be continued until April 1st, 1902, and thereafter subject to 60 days' notice. Local conditions will, as heretofore, be adjusted with our employees at the respective collieries."

From this it is quite clear that the employers refused to confer with the representatives of the organized miners and took upon themselves the absolute right to determine the wages without consultation or conference with the laborers at all, by simply posting a decree, much as an army general would issue an order, the czar a ukase, or the pope a bull.



Of course the corporations said they would deal justly with their laborers; they would consider their grievances and correct every abuse. In other words, they would be good to the laborers, but the laborers must have nothing to say about it. There never was a despot so bad that he would not promise to "do right" and "be just" and "treat his subjects kindly." When the czar of Russia gobbled Poland and took away the government of Finland, he did it out of kind consideration for the Poles and the Fins. They didn't like it, but that was nothing. He did, and he did it for their good. No slave owner ever promised less. There is no man or set of men who are good enough in a free country to be entrusted with any such power, industrially or politically.

This was a challenge to the laborers to accept the doctrine that the employer should be the sole arbiter of the wages, hours and other conditions,—or fight. It must be remembered that this had no relation whatever to the reasonableness or unreasonableness of the laborers' demands, for at this time they had made no demands. They had simply requested that a conference be called, that conditions and scale be considered. And this was denied.

It is difficult to think of any set of conditions under which this would not have caused a strike. If it had been designed as a provocation it could scarcely have been more effective. When this was reported to the miners in convention, but one result could be expected: namely, that they would resent so complete a denial of their right to organized action. The labor leaders are known to have been opposed to the strike, in favor of any conciliatory policy that should head it off. But to be refused even a conference very naturally destroyed the power of the leaders to control the men.

A similar case occurred once in Fall River. There

was an agitation for a strike. The leaders were entirely opposed to it. A mass meeting was called and all the speakers were opposed to the strike. But while the meeting was in session, a deputation was sent to the secretary of the manufacturers' association, to head off the strike if possible. He refused to talk to them because they happened not to work in his mill. They returned to the meeting, which by this time had become in a greatly modified mood and about to vote to postpone the strike. They reported the treatment they had received, and no power on earth could then have prevented the strike which was declared. As a result, over forty factories were closed nine weeks, the business of the city was paralyzed, many shopkeepers failed through being compelled to carry workmen's debts, and at least two corporation treasurers got into state's prison for ten and twelve years respectively. And all because of the unfair attitude and bad manners on the part of the corporation representatives, who insisted on what they called "running their own business," which was denying the laborers any voice in the contract under which they should labor.

The coal miners' convention next ordered President Mitchell to present their demand for an eight-hour day for day workers and an increase of 20 per cent. for piece workers, which was regarded as an equivalent of the reduction in hours to the day workers. In doing so he asked to have the dispute submitted to arbitration, naming Archbishop Ireland, Bishop Potter and one other person whom they might select. It must be admitted that there were good economic reasons for refusing such a proposition. This idea of calling in ministers to settle economic problems is indeed carrying business into the realm of sentiment and philanthropy, and may properly be rejected by those charged with the responsibility of business enterprises.

But this in no wise justifies the refusal of the companies to negotiate with the representatives of the miners who do know the business, whose living and welfare depend on the reasonableness of the contracts to be made, and who are as high experts for their own side as Mr. Baer and his board of directors are for the corporation side. These people who are directly interested, and who do know, and who are the only proper persons to participate in the negotiation, were refused by the corporation, and if Mr. Mitchell suggested that the matter be decided by archbishops it was only because the corporations had refused to confer with the laborers on the subject.

Whether the demand for an eight-hour day and an increase of 20 per cent. in wages is reasonable or unreasonable really cuts no figure in this strike problem. If the employers had consented to the conference with the unions, it is altogether probable that the demands of the men might and would have been modified down to a thoroughly reasonable and economic basis. After the reply of the corporations, there was nothing for the laborers to do but accept the decision that they would not be permitted to participate in making the contract under which they would have to work or to strike.

In this state of facts, as developed by Commissioner of Labor Wright's investigation, it is clear that the corporations are responsible for the strike. All the inconvenience to the public is chargeable to the railroad managers, because their attitude left no other alternative for the men except unconditional surrender of all voice in determining their conditions.

To be sure, in their statement they said that the previous arrangement had been unsatisfactory, that the output per man had diminished during the last year, but if true those were evils to be remedied. And it may be taken for granted that there are two sides to that state-



ment. The proper way to remedy such evils was to bring them before the joint conference and make the necessary change a part of the next year's agreement. But the employers did not do this, on the contrary they denied the men the right of conference, assumed the absolute control of all the conditions, and proceeded to announce the wages for the coming year, which was an ultimatum to the laborers to accept or strike. It is futile to pretend to defend this policy by reference to the unreasonable demands of the men, since the demands were a subsequent matter and could have been remedied if a conference had been agreed to. The laborers have properly the right to look to the community, both through public sentiment and public policy, to guarantee to them the same rights in industrial negotiation that the employers enjoy. The doctrine that those who own the capital have the right to decide all the conditions of industry belongs to the crude past. Every interested party has an equal right to active participation in adjusting the conditions. The laborers have a right to the same methods of representation that the capitalists have.

Their all is at stake more exclusively than is that of the capitalists. To insist that the laborers shall act as isolated individuals, while the employers shall act not merely as corporations but as associated corporations, is to insist on a flagrant unfairness that cannot always be tolerated; and if the disturbance to business and inconvenience and annoyance to the public comes through such unreasonable demands, it becomes a legitimate question for the public to consider what can be done to prevent such unnecessary injury. If the capitalists persist in this policy the public will surely take a hand, and when it does, it is altogether too likely to be of a caustic and much less reasonable character than anything organized labor presents.

Like all great bodies, public opinion moves slowly; but, if capital persists in the attitude taken by the railroads in this strike, it will find itself arrayed against a public opinion with which it will have to reckon at a penalty many times greater than a little justice and economic fairness would have cost in dealing with the demands of labor in the ordinary course of business.

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Since the above was written Mr. Mitchell has issued a statement for the public in reply to that of the mine owners. The moderate and dignified tone of Mr. Mitchell's reply, the specific and apparently well-authenticated facts he cites, put a new face on the whole case. As to wages, Mr. Mitchell shows that miners never exceed 200 days employment in the year and that their average earnings are \$1.42 a day, which amounts only to \$284 or at most \$300 a year. This is manifestly too little for American laborers to earn, especially in a time of such prosperity as the present. It is nearly \$150 less than the average wages paid in manufacturing industries, including women and children, during the last decade, which included four years of severe industrial depression, and is probably \$200 less than the average wages paid to-day, and these miners, it will be remembered, are mostly men.

The mine owners in their statement complained that, since the increase of 10 per cent. in 1900, the laborers had been less productive, the product per miner having declined, they said, 12½ per cent. Mr. Mitchell cites official statistics, which, to say the least, are quite as good authority as the bare word of the employers, which show that from 1890 to 1900 the mines were in active operation on an average of 182 days per year, and the product per miner was 363.58 tons, or 2.16 tons each per day, and during 1901, the year the operators said the men produced less, the mines were in operation 194½ days, with an average product per miner of 475.4

tons, or 2.36 tons per day. So far from a  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. reduction of output, this shows 111.85 tons per year, or  $30\frac{7}{10}$  per cent. increase of output per laborer.

In support of the laborers' request for an increase of wages, Mr. Mitchell very properly cites the increase in the cost of living, particularly of food-stuffs. This is one of the elements of the general prosperity, by which producers of these products are receiving higher prices. It is both ethically and socially desirable and even necessary that the laborers' wages should rise, at least commensurately with the expenses of living, else they would actually be growing poorer in the midst of increasing general prosperity. In regard to the price of coal, Mr. Mitchell quotes figures from the government reports showing that the value of the anthracite coal mined in 1901 was \$27,746,169 or more than 31 per cent. greater than in 1900. The average price per ton during the 10 years, 1890 to 1900 inclusive, was \$1.48 per ton, while in 1901 it was \$1.87, showing a rise of 39 cents per ton.

Thus, while according to the claim of the mine owners the ten per cent. rise given in 1900 cost 13 cents per ton, the rise in the price of coal was 39 cents a ton, showing a net gain to the operators of 26 cents per ton. If these facts are verified, Mr. Mitchell has made out an exceptionally strong case for the miners, which puts the mine owners in the awkward position of being in the wrong both on the economic facts and moral principles involved in the situation. Prompt explanations or action by the mine owners is now in order.



## TRUE AMERICANISM\*

Mr. President: I have something to say, which I will say as briefly and as compactly as I may, upon the pending bill. We have to deal with a territory 10,000 miles away, 1,200 miles in extent, containing 10,000,000 people. A majority of the senate think that people are under the American flag and lawfully subject to our authority. We are not at war with them or with anybody. . . .

The Filipinos have a right to call it war. They claim to be a people and to be fighting for their rights as a people. . . . But we cannot be at war under the constitution without an act of congress. We are not at war. We made peace with Spain on the 14th day of February, 1899. Congress has never declared war with the people of the Philippine Islands. The president has never asserted nor usurped the power to do it. We are only doing on a large scale exactly what we have done at home within a few years past, where the military forces of the United States have been called out to suppress a riot or a tumult or a lawless assembly, too strong for the local authorities. You have the same right to administer the water torture, or to hang men by the thumbs, to extort confession, in one case as in the other. You have the same right to do it in Cleveland or Pittsburg or at Colorado Springs as you have to do it within the Philippine Islands. I have the same right as an American citizen or an American senator to discuss the conduct of any military officer in the Philippine Islands that I have to discuss the conduct of a marshal or a constable or a captain in Pittsburg or in Cleveland if there were a labor riot there. . . .

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\*Condensation of speech of Hon. George Frisbie Hoar, of Massachusetts, in the United States senate, May 22, 1902.

The senator from Ohio, in his very brilliant and forcible speech, which I heard with delight and instruction, said that we were bound to restore order in the Philippine Islands, and we cannot leave them till that should be done. He said we were bound to keep the faith we pledged to Spain in the treaty, and that we were bound, before we left, to see that secured. He said we were bound, especially, to look out for the safety of the Filipinos who had been our friends, and that we could not, in honor, depart until that should be made secure.

All that, Mr. President, is true. So far as I know, no man has doubted it. But these things are not what we are fighting for; not one of them. There never was a time when, if we had declared that we only were there to keep faith with Spain, and that we only were there to restore order, that we were only there to see that no friend of ours should suffer at the hands of any enemy of ours, that the war would not have ended in that moment.

You are fighting for sovereignty. You are fighting for the principle of eternal dominion over that people, and that is the only question in issue in the conflict. We said in the case of Cuba that she had a right to be free and independent. . . . We only demanded in the treaty that Spain should hereafter let her alone. If you had done to Cuba as you have done to the Philippine Islands, who had exactly the same right, you would be at this moment, in Cuba, just where Spain was when she excited the indignation of the civilized world and we compelled her to let go. And if you had done in the Philippines as you did in Cuba, you would be to-day or would soon be in those islands as you are in Cuba.

But you made a totally different declaration about the Philippine Islands. You undertook in the treaty to acquire sovereignty over her for yourself, which that

people denied. You declared, not only in the treaty but in many public utterances in this chamber and elsewhere, that you had a right to buy sovereignty with money, or to treat it as the spoils of war or the booty of battle. The moment you made that declaration the Filipino people gave you notice that they treated it as a declaration of war. So your generals reported, and so Aguinaldo expressly declared. The president sent out an order to take forcible possession, by military power, of those islands. Gen. Otis tried to suppress it, but it leaked out at Iloilo through Gen. Miller. Gen. Otis tried to suppress it and substitute that they should have all the rights of the most favored provinces. He stated that he did that because he knew the proclamation would bring on war. And the next day Aguinaldo covered the walls of Manila with a proclamation stating what President McKinley had done, and saying that if that were persisted in he and his people would fight, and Gen. MacArthur testified that Aguinaldo represented the entire people. So you deliberately made up the issue for a fight for dominion on one side and a fight for liberty on the other.

Then when you had ratified the treaty you voted down the resolution in the senate, known as the Bacon resolution, declaring the right of that people to independence, and you passed the McEnery resolution, which declared that you meant to dispose of those islands as should be for the interest of the United States. That was the origin of the war, if it be war; that is what the war is all about, if it be war; and it is idle for my brilliant and ingenious friend from Ohio to undertake to divert this issue to a contest on our part to enable us to keep faith with our friends among the Filipinos, or to restore order there, or to carry out the provisions of the treaty with Spain.

Now, Mr. President, when you determined to re-



sort to force for that purpose, you took upon yourself every natural consequence of that condition. The natural result of a conflict of arms between a people coming out of subjection and a highly civilized people—one weak and the other strong, with all the powers and resources of civilization—is inevitable, as everybody knows, that there will be cruelty on one side and retaliation by cruelty on the other. You knew it even before it happened, as well as you know it now that it has happened, and the responsibility is yours. . . . Conflicts between white races and brown races, or red races or black races, between superior races and inferior races, are always cruel on both sides, and the men who decree, with full notice, that such conflict shall take place are the men on whom the responsibility rests. When Aguinaldo said he did not desire the conflict to go on, and that it went on against his wish, he was told by our general that he would not parley with him without total submission. . . . Had you made a declaration to Aguinaldo that you would respect their title to independence, and that all you desired was order and to fulfil the treaty and to protect your friends, you would have disarmed that people in a moment. I believe there never has been a time since when a like declaration made by this chamber alone, but certainly made by this chamber and the other house, with the approval of the president, would not have ended this conflict and prevented all these horrors. . . .

I believe the American army, officers and soldiers, to be made up of as brave and humane men, in general, as ever lived. They have done what has always been done, and, until human nature shall change, always will be done in all like conditions. The chief guilt is on the heads of those who created the conditions. . . .

I do not wish to dwell at length on the circumstances which attended the capture of Aguinaldo. . . .

I understand the facts to be that that officer [Funston] disguised the men under his command in the dress of Filipino soldiers; wrote, or caused to be written, a forged letter to Aguinaldo, purporting to come from one of his officers, stating that he was about to bring him some prisoners he had captured, and in that way got access to Aguinaldo's headquarters. As he approached he sent a message to Aguinaldo that he and his friends were hungry; accepted food at his hands, and when in his presence threw down and seized him; shot some of the soldiers who were about Aguinaldo and brought him back a prisoner into our lines. That is the transaction that is so highly applauded in imperialistic quarters. . . .

Mr. President, we have two guides for the conduct of military officers in such circumstances. . . . One of these is "Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field," prepared by Dr. Francis Lieber and promulgated by order of Abraham Lincoln. The other is the convention at The Hague, agreed upon by the representatives of this government with the others on the 29th day of July, 1899, and ratified by the senate on the 14th of March, 1902. Observe that this convention was agreed upon before all these acts happened, and was unanimously adopted after they had all happened. I extract from the "Instructions for the Government of Armies in the Field" the following paragraphs: Paragraph 148 is this:

"The law of war does not allow proclaiming either an individual belonging to the hostile army or a citizen or a subject of the hostile government as an outlaw, who may be slain without trial by any captor, any more than the modern law of peace allows such intentional outlawry. On the contrary, it abhors such outrage. The sternest retaliation should follow the murder committed in consequence of such proclamation, made by whatever authority. Civilized nations look with horror upon offers of rewards for the assassination of enemies as relapses into barbarism. . . .

Paragraph 16 is:

"Military necessity does not admit of cruelty—that is, the infliction of suffering for the sake of suffering or for revenge, nor of maiming or wounding except in fight, nor of torture to extort confession. It does not admit of the use of poison in any way nor of the wanton devastation of a district. It admits of deception, but disclaims acts of perfidy, and, in general, military necessity does not include any act of hostility which makes the return to peace unnecessarily difficult. . . ."

Now, perfidy is defined later in paragraph 117, which declares:

"It is justly considered an act of bad faith, of infamy, or fiendishness to deceive the enemy by flags of protection. . . ."

Paragraph 65 is:

"The use of the enemy's national standard, flag, or other emblem of nationality for the purpose of deceiving the enemy in battle is an act of perfidy. . . ."

Is not the uniform an emblem of nationality? If it be an act of perfidy—the use of that emblem of nationality to deceive the enemy in battle—is it any less an act of perfidy to use it to steal upon him and deceive him when he is not in battle and is in his own quarters? This is also prohibited by the convention of The Hague, which must have been well known to all our officers, which had been signed by the representatives of this government, although its formal approval by the senate took place this winter. I suppose if it be perfidy now, according to the unanimous opinion of the senate, and was perfidy before, according to the concurrent action of twenty-four great nations, the question when we formally ratified the treaty becomes unimportant.

Article 23 of the convention declares: "(f) To make improper use of a flag of truce, the national flag, or military ensigns, and the enemy's uniform"—is specially prohibited. That is classed in that article also with the use of poison and poisoned arms.

So, Mr. President, the act of Gen. Funston—not Gen. Funston himself, if he acted under orders of his



superior—but the act of Gen. Funston is stamped with indelible infamy by Abraham Lincoln's articles of war, to which the secretary of war appeals, and the concurrent action of twenty-four great nations, and the unanimous action of the senate this winter. . . .

Mr. President, the story of what has been called the water torture has been, in part, told by other senators. I have no inclination to repeat the story. I cannot help believing that not a twentieth part of it has yet been told. I get letters in large numbers from officers, or the friends of officers, who repeat what they tell me, all testifying to these cruelties. And yet the officer, or the officer's friends or kindred, who send the letters to me, send them under a strict injunction of secrecy. Other senators tell me they have a like experience. These brave officers, who would go to the cannon's mouth for honor, who never flinch in battle, flinch before what they deem the certain ruin of their prospects in life, if they give the evidence which they think would be distasteful to their superiors. . . .

Now, how do our friends who seek, I will not say to defend, but to extenuate them [brutalities], deal with the honor of the American army? Why, they come into the senate and say that there have been other cruelties and barbarities and atrocities in war. When these American soldiers and officers are called to the bar our friends summon Nero and Torquemada and the Spanish Inquisition and the sheeted and ghostly leaders of the Ku Klux Klan and put them by their side. That is the way you defend the honor of the American army. It is the first time the American soldier was put into such company by the men who have undertaken his defence. . . .

All this cost, all these young men gone to their graves, all these wrecked lives, all this national dishonor, the repeal of the declaration of independence, the

overthrow of the principle on which the Monroe doctrine was placed by its author, the devastation of provinces, the shooting of captives, the torture of prisoners and unarmed and peaceful citizens, the hanging men up by the thumbs, the carloads of maniac soldiers that you bring home, are all because you will not tell now whether you mean in the future to stand on the principles which you and your fathers always declared in the past.

The senator from Ohio says it is not wise to declare what we will do at some future time. Mr. President, we do not ask you to declare what you will do at some future time. We ask you to declare an eternal principle good at the present time and good at all times. You declared what you would not do at some future time when you all voted that you would not take Cuba against the will of her people, did you not? We ask you to declare not at what moment you will get out of the Philippine Islands, but only on what eternal principle you will act, in them or out of them. Such declarations are made in all history. They are in every important treaty between nations.

The constitution of the United States is itself but a declaration of what this country will do and what it will not do in all future times. The declaration of independence, if it have the practical meaning it has had for a hundred years, is a declaration of what this country would do through all future times. The Monroe doctrine, to which sixteen republics south of us owe their life and their safety, was a declaration to mankind of what we would do in all future time. Among all the shallow pretences of imperialism this statement that we will not say what we will do in the future is the most shallow of all. Was there ever such a flimsy pretext flaunted in the face of the American people as that of gentlemen who say, if any other nation on the face of

the earth or all other nations together attempt to overthrow the independence of any people to the south of us in this hemisphere, we will fight and prevent them, and at the same time we think it dishonorable to declare whether we will ever overthrow the independence of a weaker nation in another hemisphere? . . .

Other and better councils will yet prevail. The hours are long in the life of a great people. The irrevocable step is not yet taken. Let us at least have this to say: We too have kept the faith of the fathers. We took Cuba by the hand. We delivered her from her age-long bondage. We welcomed her to the family of nations. We set mankind an example never beheld before of moderation in victory. We led hesitating and halting Europe to the deliverance of their beleaguered ambassadors in China. We marched through a hostile country—a country cruel and barbarous—without anger or revenge. We returned benefit for injury, and pity for cruelty. We made the name of America beloved in the East as in the West. We kept faith with the Philippine people. We kept faith with our own history. We kept our national honor unsullied. The flag which we received without a rent we handed down without a stain.



## THE BEEF TRUST

There is something peculiar about the ease with which a "trust" sensation can be created in the United States. If the price of a trust-made article goes down, the cry goes forth that the monster is crushing the small dealer by low prices and driving individual producers from the field. If the prices rise, public alarm is at once raised that the large corporation is robbing the public through its power of monopoly. For example, in 1895 and 1896, because the price of wheat and farm products was very low, railroads and banks and large corporations were charged with conspiring to ruin the farmers, and war on trusts was made a conspicuous issue in the presidential election.

With the return of prosperity, prices moved in the opposite direction. The price of wheat nearly doubled, corn rose from 45 to 70 cents a bushel, and beef on the hoof rose about 70 per cent. One would naturally suppose that people who were ready to inaugurate a revolution because prices of certain products were low would be disposed to rejoice when the prices of those same products were high. But not so with the American people. The very same people, the same politicians, the same candidates for high positions of national honor, and the same newspapers set up the same alarming outcry, the same demand for revolutionary policy and suppression of large corporations because the prices of these products have gone up that they did when they went down.

The striking peculiarity of all this is that those who devote themselves to this kind of propaganda seem deadily in earnest. They repeat it so much that they really seem to believe it. In this matter of the beef trust, the state of mind, form of argument and method

of treatment is a complete repetition of all previous cases of the kind. The fact that the price of the article rose is regarded as sufficient proof that the trust is responsible.

During the last year there has been a rise in the price of beef, and apparently, without making any reasonable effort to ascertain the real cause of this, it is promptly charged to the selfish, monopolistic action of the beef trust. This claim has been so diligently circulated by the press that it is generally believed. Even President Roosevelt is caught in the whirl, and has instructed his attorney-general to prosecute the beef trust.

Although the courts and the legislatures are invoked to suppress the beef trust, there has been apparently no serious effort made to ascertain the real cause of the rise in the price of beef, or if the trust has any actual connection with it.

It is no part of our purpose to show that the great packing concerns would not take advantage of every opportunity to make the people pay the highest price possible for their product, nor even that this was not the prime purpose of their organization. They may be unscrupulous and dishonest, they may even be planning to overthrow the republic and set up a monarchy, and they may be conspiring to accomplish many other crimes against civilization. But the particular crime with which they are now charged is that they are the cause of the present high price of beef. Is that true? The Swifts and Armours and all the great packing people may be a very wicked lot and entitled to be hung, but if they are they should not be hung for the wrong thing. The American people do not want to be fooled; they do not want to believe what is not true; they do not want to censure or prosecute any class of people, however bad, for crimes of which they are not guilty.

Train robbers should be exterminated, but they should not be punished for bigamy because they cannot be convicted of train robbery. If large corporations are bad *per se*, then they may be suppressed because they are large corporations; but to charge any class or type of people of committing certain acts without taking the pains to prove it, merely because we do not like them on general principle, tends to destroy the intelligence and integrity of public opinion and undermine the moral tone of the community.

Is the beef trust the cause of the rise in the price of beef? That is the question. There are a few facts in connection with this subject that are too obvious to need proving. One is that the great packing corporations do not raise cattle, nor to any considerable extent fatten cattle. Now, if the price of beef on the hoof as they buy it has risen, that cannot be charged to them. If it can be shown that they can buy cattle at the same price per hundred now that they could before the rise of beef, then they are responsible for the increase. This is a fact so easy to ascertain that it ought to be a matter of common knowledge, since the price of cattle is published in the market reports of the daily press. A simple comparison of the prices of beeves a few years ago and now will conclusively settle that question. In 1898 beef on the hoof at the great packing centers ranged between four and five cents a pound.

During the last three years the prices of live beeves have risen about 75 per cent., as will be seen from the following quotations for beef steers at Chicago:\*

June 1, 1898	June 4, 1899	June 1, 1900	June 5, 1901	June 21, 1902
\$4.00-\$5.20	\$4.50-\$4.85	\$4.90-\$5.60	\$5.45-\$6.10	\$7.50-\$8.00

The price of beef to the butchers, and, for that matter, to the public, has risen less than 40 per cent., much of it less than 30. It is thus clear that the actual

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\* New York *Journal of Commerce* market reports.



rise in the price of beef is all in the live cattle. In other words, it has taken place in the hands of the cattle raisers and feeders and not with the packers or so-called "trust."

Among the beef raisers and feeders there is no trust whatever. On the contrary, there are few industries in this country that have so much independent individual enterprise as cattle raising. Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, California, Nevada, Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado and Missouri are dotted with individual ranchers, owning from 100 to 5,000 head of cattle; yet these are the people who have received the advance in the price of beef, and they have received it from the packers or trust.

The next question is: Why has the price of live cattle mounted up so during the last year or two? Clearly, it is not due to any trust influence, since no cattle trust exists. If we will only disabuse ourselves of the trust fever and look at the economic causes which would naturally affect the price of cattle, it will not be difficult to see that several economic causes have materially contributed to bring about this result. First of all, during the last few years of industrial prosperity both the domestic consumption, per capita, and the export of beef have greatly increased. At the same time, the supply of cattle in proportion to population has fallen off. According to the census the number of cattle raised in this country for the meat market in 1891, 1892 and 1893 averaged 36,827,028 a year and in 1900 it was only 27,610,054, showing an actual diminution of about nine million head; yet the total value of the cattle in 1900 was \$135,233,171 greater though nine millions less in number than the average of the previous years. In other words, the value of cattle raised for the meat market, all kinds, including calves, rose from an average of \$15.05 per head in 1891, 1892 and 1893 to an average value of \$24.97 per head in 1900, an increase

of about 66 per cent. In the first half of April, 1901, there were 81,400 head of cattle received in Kansas City, and in the same period in 1902 there were only 66,300.

There are several reasons for all this which have no relation to trusts and monopolies but result from strictly natural economic causes. One is the diminution of free government land available for cattle raising. To be sure, there are extensive areas yet untouched, but they lack water. Government grazing land, with available water, is very naturally steadily diminishing as cattle ranching has extended. To meet the increased demand, therefore, the process of winter feeding and grazing on ranches of purchased land is being resorted to. This materially increases the cost of raising cattle; at least of the most expensive portion of the supply, which always fixes the price.

During the last year or eighteen months there has been a marked scarcity of free-fed fat cattle. Agents have been scouring the ranch country in search of fat cattle, very much as English agents have been hunting for horses and mules for South Africa. This spring there was almost a famine of fat three and four year olds. It has thus become more necessary to fatten cattle by housed feeding. In the cattle feeding section, supplying Kansas City, St. Louis and Chicago markets, hay, cotton seed and corn were very dear. Corn has risen from a little over 40 cents to 68½ cents a bushel, or nearly 75 per cent. It will thus be seen that the rise in the price of cattle on the hoof is due to an increased cost of conditions incident to raising the cattle. So long as these causes exist, the price of cattle will remain high. And it is more than probable that meat is even cheaper to-day than it would have been but for the important improvements that all the great packing companies have introduced in the business, such as refrigera-

tor cars and scientific methods of killing, dressing and preserving the meats. If the dressing and packing business were done to-day by the crude methods employed before the large packing concerns came into existence, nothing could prevent beef being very much higher than at present, because the cost of treating it would have been very much greater.

There is no risk in saying that if the administration should succeed in "smashing the beef trust" and dissolving every large packing corporation in the country it would not succeed in lowering the price of beef. On the contrary, that very probably would raise the price.

There are only two things that can materially lower the price of beef. One is a tariff agitation and disturbance of business so as to cause a business depression. If President Roosevelt will permit his secretary of war to encourage a revision of the tariff and so reproduce the conditions created by Mr. Cleveland in 1893, the consumption of beef will fall off and the price will decline. Another, and the only proper way to lower the price of beef, is to apply an effective system of irrigation in the great beef raising country. If the money that is now being worse than wasted in the Philippines could be turned into building a scientific system of irrigation throughout the great arid sections of this country, cheap cattle ranching with an abundance of fodder would cause not only cheap beef but cheap mutton, cheap wool, cheap fruit, and an increase of wealth, prosperity and population throughout the great West that would be worth more to civilization than forty Cubas, Philippines and Porto Ricos rolled into one.



## THE NEW SOUTH'S RARE OPPORTUNITY\*

The keynote that needs to be struck in the child labor matter, South or anywhere, is not "hands off," but hands on. It is fortunate for social progress that the point of view of modern economic thought has drifted so far away from the old-school doctrine of non-interference that we can take hold of a problem like this to some robust, practical purpose, without becoming intellectually disreputable; and the reason why this is fortunate is that right here factory legislation has met its bitterest opposition, ever since the first child labor act in England, in 1802.

The doctrine that cheapness is the all-sufficient goal of economic progress, the only economic fact of any possible interest or concern to the laborers, has been a corner-stone in political economy. Only within recent years has the idea begun to dawn that an adequate theory of economic welfare must include the interests of the citizen as a producer as well as a consumer; that the conditions under which the man works, and his opportunities of enjoying the fruits of his labor, are quite as vital to his happiness as the price of potatoes or beef or clothing. It is clear now, however, that cheapness, important as it is, must come, and in the long run can only come, through more effective utilizing of natural forces, by invention and machinery, not through the overworking and social degradation of labor; and the great enlightening circumstance on this point has been the fact that the whole price-cheapening trend of our modern industrial era has come hand-in-hand with increasing wages, diminishing hours, and restrictions on the labor of women and children.

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\*Address by Hayes Robbins, Dean of the Institute of Social Economics, before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, April 4, 1902.

In respect to child labor alone, the progress of protective legislation has been extraordinary. England has had a half-time factory and school law for children of 9 and over since 1844, the half-time age having since been raised to 11; and a 14-year age limit for full day work since 1874. In Germany the limit for full day work is 14 years, and for any factory work at all, 13; in Holland, Belgium, France, Austria, Norway and Sweden it is 12; in Russia 15, half-time being allowed from 12 up; in Switzerland it is 14; in Denmark 14, with half-time allowed from 10 up; and even in Italy, child labor under 9 years is absolutely prohibited.

In the United States, three or four years ago, in 1898 or 1899, when the last complete compilation on the subject was made, there were limitations on child labor in twenty-four states and all the territories. To select for comparison our greatest manufacturing states, as showing most clearly the possibility of prosperity without child labor, the limit under which such labor is prohibited in Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, Illinois and Indiana is 14 years; in Georgia, no limit; in Rhode Island 15 and Ohio 14, except during school vacations, and no work at all under 12; in North Carolina, no limit; in New Jersey, 12 for boys and 14 for girls; in Alabama, no limit, except in mines, 12 years; in Pennsylvania, 13; in South Carolina, no limit. Happily, the tendency is moving southward; Missouri, Maryland, Tennessee, and even Louisiana, now have restrictive laws; so that the section specially known as the new industrial South, the home of the southern cotton and iron manufacturing industries, is the only quarter of the United States where the idea of protecting the physical, moral and educational opportunities of little children has made practically no impression in statute law.

At the outset, now, of her industrial development,

the South has a unique opportunity. She can transfer to her own conditions the results of nearly all Christendom's experience in humane factory regulation without having to suffer over again the hardships and struggles this progress has cost. I do not mean to imply that all such legislation has worked to perfection without evasion or hardship; but the vast improvement over no legislation at all indicates the soundness of the effort and points the line of further reform. Those who have not yet even made a start ought not to be frightened out of a beginning because the others still have something more to do.

The Japanese are a case in point. They are now reported to be sending students abroad to study modern labor legislation, with the object of applying it to their own oncoming factory system at the beginning, recognizing that it is as inevitable as progress itself. Russia, even Russia, has already done this. Surely the new South does not need to go to school in Russia and Japan.

It seems hardly necessary to prove the importance of doing something. Bare statement of the admitted fact that children of 8 to 12, and even younger, are working in the mills all through the industrial South tells the story, and ought to be sufficient. Personally, I have seen the child labor system in operation in North and South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, and gathered some vivid impressions; have seen scores of little people working in the dust and din of the spinning rooms, seen scores of others on their way to the mills before daylight who would not come out until after dark, the hours of labor ranging from eleven to twelve; have been in the homes of these people and learned something of how they live and the wages they receive. For example, we brought back from the South some 154 weekly pay envelopes, for both adults and children, col-



lected from operatives' families in one of the best sections, and nearly 100 of them are for less than \$1.50 each per week, the average in most cases ranging from 10 to 30 or 40 cents a day; only older children earning the latter sums, however.

In other words, low as the wage rates are, the *actual earnings*, especially of children, are much lower. This is due partly to absences, partly to constant deductions of all sorts, for faulty work, rent, money advanced, carfare advanced to get them down from the mountains or in from the country to the mills, and what not. In 44 out of the 154 envelopes these deductions exactly cancel the entire amount of wages due. Let me cite three or four specimen cases, omitting names. One envelope, repeated two or three times, shows wages for the week \$1.00, rent 75 cents, balance 25 cents; another, wages \$1.20, tin cup 5 cents, transportation \$1.15, balance nothing; another, wages \$3.00, rent, \$1.40 loan \$1.00, balance paid 60 cents; another, wages \$1.50, transportation \$1.00, balance 50 cents; and so on.

It is impossible to state with exactness the number of children under a given age, say 14 years, employed in southern factories. The federal census does not cover this point, and only *one* southern state of the group under consideration—North Carolina—makes any provision for *collecting* and publishing industrial and labor statistics. Close approximation to the facts of the *general* conditions, however, is not very difficult. It appears from the latest report of Commissioner Lacy, of the North Carolina bureau of labor, that about 7,600 children under 14 years of age were employed in 261 mills in that state. The federal census bulletins on manufactures, now being issued, show the total number of employees in the cotton manufacturing industry in the five southern states where any important amount of

cotton manufacturing exists; and for North Carolina the total in 1900 was 30,273 operatives. In other words, more than one-third of the total number of operatives in the cotton mills of that state are children under 14 years of age. In South Carolina the total number of operatives in 1900 was 30,201; in Georgia, 18,348; in Alabama, 8,332; in Mississippi, 1,675, the total for the five states being 88,829. Estimating the same proportion of child labor throughout the entire group (and this is entirely legitimate, since North Carolina conditions are even better than in some other manufacturing sections in the South), it would appear that there are more than 22,000 children under 14 years of age in the cotton mills of these states. On this basis, it is a conservative estimate to say that at least eight or ten thousand of these children are under 12, while the lower extreme of the age limit is down even to the almost unbelievable point of 6 years, the fact being well established that children as young as six to eight and nine years are to-day working in some of the southern mills.

Remember, along with this, the fact just observed in the case of our northern states and European countries where legislation on child labor exists, that 14 years is very nearly the average age under which factory labor is prohibited altogether. In other words, the absence of any restrictions in the South means that fully one-third of all the operatives are younger than the age standard established by the forces of humanitarian opinion and wise statesmanship throughout the larger part of Christendom.

The amounts earned by the children in southern mills would not be necessary to the support of the families under any proper system of factory regulation. The economics of the situation would inevitably take care of that. If the labor of the children is not available the mills must employ older help, and in order to get such

help must pay wages sufficient to maintain the families, including the children. This is how the matter has adjusted itself wherever child labor has been restricted, and of economic necessity it must be so. The difference in labor expense involved has never yet been sufficient to hamper industrial activity or drive capital away from any industrial section, and, so long as competing groups are not permitted to gain a permanent advantage by the wholesale use of child labor, it never will.

The lack of restrictions on child labor makes possible, also, that semi-barbarous institution of night work. Where all the family work by turns in the mill the results are shockingly demoralizing. Just as a sidelight on one phase of this system, let me quote a paragraph from a discussion of factory evils in the South, just published this month, by Rev. J. A. Baldwin, of Charlotte, N. C., a special student of these problems. Where part of the family work by day and part by night, he says:

“The mother has to get up at 4:30 in the morning to get breakfast for the day hands, so they can be at the mill at six; then the night hands come and eat about seven. She has to have dinner for the day hands strictly at twelve. The night hands get up and eat from four to five, so as to be ready to go to work for the night at six; she also gives them a lunch to be eaten at midnight. Then the day hands get out at six and have supper about seven. Besides this, there is house-cleaning, washing and ironing, sewing and often the care of little children. . . . The mills usually run sixty-six hours per week at night; that is, the operatives work twelve hours from Monday night to Friday night inclusive, and on Saturday get up about two o'clock (before they have had enough sleep) to go to work at three. They then work till nine at night. As a matter of fact it is usually ten or eleven when they get out. . .



"Night work is much worse in the summer than in the winter, In the winter they go to bed, cover up and sleep soundly. In summer it is difficult to sleep on account of light, heat, flies and noise. In summer, while they usually go to bed, it is a very familiar sight to see them lying across the bed with their work-clothes on, or on a pallet in the passage or on the porch. Their sleep is fitful and unsatisfying, and they never feel bright and re from the beginning to the end of the week. They furnish the most favorable conditions for the development of physical, intellectual and spiritual disease germs."

The children of factory families in the South to-day have no protection against this. Night work for women and children ought to be absolutely prohibited. It is, almost everywhere else, even in Russia. This would practically force either the employment of men only in night work, or else its abolition altogether. I would not deny that there may be good economic reasons for night work, at least in rush times, but it should be done by men if at all, never by women and children.

Nobody is urging any step that threatens to destroy southern mill profits, but it must be insisted that there is another way to secure profits than the way of using child labor. Scientific improvement of industrial methods is the only sure and safe road to permanent prosperity, and it would not seem that the South has much to fear when the great bulk of the most prosperous industry in Christendom is being conducted under more or less advanced forms of factory regulation. Furthermore, nobody need or ought to urge legislation as the remedy on the ground that southern manufacturers are all indifferent and inhumane. Legislation is urged simply because it is the most uniform and least costly method the South could of its own accord adopt. Southern manufacturers are no more types of hard-hearted

callousness than are manufacturers anywhere; they have all been opposed to factory legislation at one time or another, under the influence of mistaken economic doctrines. I do not know, but would risk it, that scores of southern manufacturers would be glad to see these evils abolished in their own mills if they could do it without immediate competitive disadvantage with all the rest. Here comes in the advantage of legislation, that by establishing the same conditions and opportunities for all it imposes no special relative handicap on any.

Moreover, and here is one of the saddest features of all, the fathers, sometimes even the mothers, are among the worst offenders in this whole matter. I have seen cases, and there are others in abundance, where the wife and children practically earn the family living in the mill, while the father thoughtfully carries in the dinner pail at noon, perhaps working a little on odd days when he gets tired of loafing. We cannot altogether blame the manufacturer when these people are fairly urging them to take on the children in the mills; and we need to remember also that to most of these unfortunate people factory life is a distinct improvement over the log-cabin, salt pork and peach brandy, white-trash and Georgia-cracker type of life, from which many of them were sifted out when the mills came. The manufacturer knows this, and it is not surprising that he should even think himself something of a philanthropist, just in furnishing mill jobs on almost any terms. He does not see as yet that when these people drift down into the factory centers they become industrial, social and political factors in an altogether new and more serious sense than they ever could be while burrowing in the mountain sides.

To have practically all of the next generation of factory operatives growing up stunted in body and mind,

and nearly all of them illiterates, in a section of the country where the general average of illiteracy is already appalling, is a matter of the gravest concern. Southern manufacturers sooner or later will have to recognize this fact, and its impending consequences. According to the 1900 census statistics just appearing, the proportion of illiteracy among males of voting age, white and black together, was, in Alabama, 33.7 per cent.; in Georgia, 31.6 per cent.; in Mississippi, 33.8 per cent.; in North Carolina, 29.4 per cent.; in South Carolina, 35.1 per cent.; as compared, for instance, with 6.4 per cent. in Massachusetts; 6.8 per cent. in Connecticut; 9.2 per cent. in Rhode Island; 5.9 per cent. in New York; 6.9 per cent. in New Jersey; 7.7 per cent. in Pennsylvania. The South simply cannot afford to permit the processes to go on that are adding fresh groups every year to its grand total of illiterate and unfit citizens. In the face of the present situation, if a new race of degenerates, brought up in exhausting toil, dense ignorance, and exposed to all the temptations of an unprotected environment, is to be developed now in the fast growing centers of the new South, they are certain to form a social and civic and economic menace to the community.

This will be true not only of the South; the matter is coming to have a national significance. Within the limits of any one interdependent industrial group, like the United States, there must be at least some general approach to uniformity in the working conditions of the laborers, by given lines of industries. Differences in competitive success must come from differences in managing ability, quality of plant, or natural environment, not from different standards of decency in the use of labor. If long hours and child labor become the fixed conditions of success, the whole field of competing industry must eventually come down to that basis. A competitive influence which works for the undermining



of higher standards of living, wherever established, is a matter of universal concern. In a democracy, no condition is safe which offers a competitive advantage to anything that leads toward ignorant, inferior citizenship. It is not safe anywhere, whether in southern mill villages or northern city slums, because to make degradation profitable in any quarter sets the current of tendency that way, with demoralizing effect.

That is why it is not meddlesome interference for American citizens not of the South to have a concern about this matter, from the broad standpoint of national welfare. The real testpoint of permanent progress and prosperity, affecting the nation as well as the South, is not the size of profits in southern mills in the next five years, large as we hope they may be through all proper means, but it is the quality of southern citizenship in the next five generations. That citizenship is now in the making, and now is the time of times to safeguard its development. Such action will be good economics, good morals, good humanity. For the South, it is an inspiring opportunity.

## WOMEN'S OPPORTUNITY FOR SOCIAL SERVICE\*

REBECCA DOUGLAS LOWE

Two years ago, in summing up my labors as president of this organization, I undertook to give you some idea of its growth in membership. As we closed the first decade of our organized efforts it seemed to me that one of the most impressive facts of our association was this gain in numerical strength; and to-night, when we reflect upon the humble beginnings from which has developed this organization, numbering its hundreds of thousands of women, we find it somewhat difficult to realize the enormous proportions we have attained in so short a time. . . .

But I am not so much concerned with telling you how many we have gained in members in the past two years as I am to tell you what these members have accomplished and to give you some idea of what such an organization may accomplish if properly used; for, after all, the salient and most hopeful feature of our organization lies not in our numerical strength, but in the quality of strength, which has enabled us, and will enable us, not only to think things, but do things—and do things not only to improve and uplift ourselves, but to render important service in the uplifting and betterment of humanity. To this end, although our size, numbers and material success are indeed important factors, yet we wish to have our material success inspired with a recognition of spiritual values as well. It is time that we more fully comprehend that we are no longer in the preliminary and adolescent stage of ex-

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\*Condensation of address delivered by Mrs. Lowe, retiring president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, at the sixth biennial convention, Los Angeles, Cal., May 8, 1902.

istence. The question which interests us is no longer the increase of numbers, for the General Federation of Women's Clubs *has* "come of age." . . .

Four years ago we made a notable stride towards social service in appointing a committee to study the various conditions surrounding the wage-earning woman and child. This committee was in no sense animated by the spirit of the reformer or social doctor; it appreciated too keenly its lack of information. It therefore very wisely devoted its first efforts to collecting the necessary data in the premises and distributing the same for the information of club women generally. In this way we have gained some acquaintance with the conditions referred to, and for the past two years have directed our efforts accordingly to their amelioration or cure.

Without entering into details, I will say that this work has been advanced along constructive lines and by peaceful measures. We have not sought to stir up bitterness and strife between employers and employed, but rather to strengthen their mutual good faith and feeling. We have kept particularly in mind the teaching of those economists who are telling us of "a new unit of production in labor;" that men and women can actually produce more and better things when they are healthy, intelligent, cheerful, hopeful, than when they are mere weary, worn-out, listless, lifeless machines. The alert manufacturer of to-day is figuring this new unit into his calculations, and he is fast coming to realize that the thousands he may invest in making more tolerable and happy the lives of his employees come back to him in very tangible form, and in ever-increasing ratio.

One important effort of this committee has been directed to the end that working women may more generally understand, in the light of the failures as well as



the successes of working men, the splendid and increasing gains to be obtained from intelligent organization. We found the wage earning woman poorly adjusted to her environment, with the demands of life pressing so heavily upon her as to leave little or no time to discuss ways and means to better things. Brought into sharp competition with organized men, and made sensibly to feel that she was an unwelcomed intruder in the economic field, she has offered so far only a feeble resistance to the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune. We must believe that under the influence of Mrs. Florence Kelley, the able chairman of this committee, we have largely realized on our efforts in this direction and that the organization of laboring women is already well under way and promising success.

This may also be said of that other work no less important,—the emancipation of children from overwork and grinding tyranny during their early and formative years.

When we are asked, as many of us are, what good can come out of our clubs and club work, we need no better and more effective answer than to point to these gratifying achievements. Apropos of this subject a conversation with Mrs. Irene Macfadyen comes to mind, a woman who has worked intelligently and successfully in the South in arousing public sentiment in behalf of the factory child. I asked her what she considered the most necessary work to be done by interested women along this line. Her reply was that there were absolutely no statistics relating to the subject; that women can do no better work than to gather and systematically arrange facts concerning the wages and conditions of child labor in the mills: enquire into the nature and causes of illness and the percentage of children enjoying normal health; also what per cent. of these operatives are children of widows and what of

idle parents; what is the family wage; how long are children worked at night; are they given any lunch; and how are they kept awake. In some mills it is found that when children become drowsy over their work, cold water is dashed in their faces, or they are allowed to dip snuff.

Touching these suggestions I am sure it will occur to all of us that the occasional effort to entertain and feast factory children is of small moment compared with the good that may be accomplished by an intelligent study of the conditions that produce such tragic results, and a zealous effort towards their speedy removal.

Another suggestion I will make is that working girls' clubs might be visited by club women and information given them as to the laws governing their protection. As it stands, the girl is now obliged to appeal to the inspector for information, and he is not always a disinterested informant.

The work of the educational committee also claims our attention, and its efficient chairman—Miss Sabin—has given us reason to rejoice in the belief that club women are still going forward in the crusade for better schools and enlarged privileges for women in all fields of education. There is scarcely a state that does not blossom under the disinterested and systematic efforts of club women for the advancement of educational work.

In this connection it gives me much pleasure to acknowledge here a recent invitation from President Harper, asking that a committee be appointed from the federation to co-operate with the faculty of Chicago university in certain educational matters. Such recognition, made by so large minded and altruistic a man as President Harper, is significant. I think that our work is bearing fruit in many soils.

Our work in still another direction is illustrated by

the chairman of the art committee—Mrs. Brockway. This committee has endeavored to give impetus and direction among club women to the “arts and crafts” movement which is quietly but rapidly spreading throughout our country; from these efforts may be generated a current of æstheticism whose vibrations will be felt, not only in *our* life but may in some degree solve and aid along this line the efforts and development of those who come after us.

We are thus strengthening the influence of such men as Ruskin and Morris, and it is difficult to calculate this influence when we follow the same practical lines from which was evolved a system of “household art” which even in the life of those great teachers brought to light that understanding of domestic art which converted all that was *ugly* and *commonplace* into the *beautiful* and *useful*. . . .

How do we find ourselves at the present moment? We find ourselves members of an organization whose proportions are so vast and comprehensive that we may well ask ourselves the question, What are we going to do with it, and what is it going to do with us? For in any thinking on the subject we must allow for reaction as well as action. Our relation to the organization must be one of reciprocity; we draw from it just in proportion as we give to it. The geography of our hearts and minds is an island or a continent, according as we travel understandingly through their various operations. We cannot form any adequate conception of the vast changes that will be brought about, as women through the experience they get in club life become more and more self-conscious. I use the term in its deep sense and mean that as women become more and more conscious of their powers and possibilities of their souls, they will inevitably demand wider fields for their activities, and



that with the wider play of their activities will come increased responsibilities.

The glory of motherhood will receive a new lustre by the recognition of what motherhood means to civilization. Even a superficial glance at the development of society shows that woman, by virtue of her maternity, has been the conservator of the human race. Ever hedged in as she has been, as a rule, she has been and is a constructive agent.

As her experience of life becomes more extended she will continue to be a constructive agent, but no longer in the restricted sense. With unerring vision she will see that her obligations as a mother are without limit. In order that her children may have the best possible surroundings, physically, mentally and morally, she will begin to understand that it is her business to help and better every condition to which her children may be exposed. As she comprehends more and more the needs of her own children, she also comprehends the needs of other people's children. With the income of understanding and unselfish love, she will, little by little, come to the consciousness of universal motherhood—the motherhood that suffers, endures and fulfills in a large and grand fashion.

She will even begin to tear off the mysterious wrappings in which government hides itself from the feminine mind and be aroused to the central truth, that the best of government can only come out of good citizenship, and it will come in this way as surely as water seeks its level. Even though she never be granted the full rights and privileges of a citizen, yet it is imperative that she understand the need of good government and with this insight learn how to mould good citizens. Socrates, you remember, said he could not make a table but he could pass judgment upon it when it was made.

Last fall, just before the tragedy that stirred the

civilized world with horror—yet cemented the union of our country in a way that nothing else could have done—there fell from the press a collection of essays and magazine articles, written by the president of Yale University, entitled "The Education of the American Citizen." In his logical and lucid dealing with this subject, the author never separates political education from education in the all-round sense; indeed, one of his most frequent and ringing notes is that good citizenship and, consequently, good government, rests on personal character. In order to emphasize his thought I give his own words: "It is becoming evident that the really difficult political problems of the day can be solved only by an educational process. Not by the axioms of metaphysics on the one hand, nor by the machinery of legislation on the other, can we deal with the questions that vex human society. We *must* rely on personal character; and, as new difficulties arise, we must develop our own standard of character to meet them." Everywhere he enlarges upon the necessity of training to meet the exigencies of politics.

Now, vast numbers of women realize the necessity for some sort of training in the home for their children. They believe that right must triumph in the end; that rectitude and exactitude are splendid weapons with which to equip them. But comparatively few women have any conception of the needs of life beyond the shelter of the four walls in which they live. The burning questions of the hour, outside the circle of domestic ones, seem to them so occult that it would be useless even to make the effort to understand them. They do not even surmise that the great movements of life, which are dubbed political or economic, frequently bear heavily and painfully upon the well-being of their own little nests.

Another class of women, if such questions present

themselves at all, assume, with a confidence that is fairly righteous, that God, nature and public opinion have closed the doors of such questions against them and that something worse than the fate of Bluebeard's wives awaits them, if they be curious.

On the other hand is a growing number of women who are not only scanning the horizon of life but are studying with passionate zeal the actual conditions of a work-a-day world. They try to infuse the light of to-day in the work of to-day, realizing that every era has its own needs and characteristics, and that the influences which reach out from the old into the new era should be moulded and shaped by the spirit of the existing age and be fitted into the new order.

The world needs strength and courage and wisdom to help and feed—

When we, as women, bring these to men, we shall lift the world indeed.



## PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY IN CITY GOVERNMENT

WALTER L. HAWLEY

The citizens of New York are now watching with varying emotions and conflicting opinions a large experiment in conducting municipal government on a basis of personal responsibility. Mayor Low holds that political parties have no proper place in conducting the business affairs of a city. His chief subordinates are so much in sympathy with his views on that subject that they will not, if they can avoid it, appoint to any place in the public service a man indorsed by a political party or leader. The mayor has in various public announcements of his policy said that he should hold himself responsible to the citizens as a whole. His subordinates are responsible only to him, and his control over them is in one way complete, because he can remove them at his pleasure. The result is a complete working system of non-partisan city government, in which successes and failures alike should benefit or injure only individuals. The voters as a whole, and the great underlying force in politics, public opinion, can neither remove nor punish any party, faction or organization of citizens if the administration of Mayor Low succeeds or fails.

Other experiments in so-called non-partisan government have been made in many American cities, but never before on a scale so large, or in fact so complete in actual and recognized personal responsibility. Such governments are usually placed in office by a combination of parties and factions against a party in power or by some compact and aggressive organization of citizens representing all shades of political opinion. These

are invariably designated as "reform movements," because they are brought about by public remonstrance against corruption or extravagance in office. These movements are always partisan to a certain extent, because they are pledged to turn out the party in power. When they win, the smaller units of the general organization may disintegrate, but the larger ones always bear some responsibility for the administration created. The party defeated in such cases is not responsible in any way for what happens while it is out of power.

Non-partisan government of cities is universally accepted as the ideal form of municipal administration. It suggests to the thinker and the dreamer a happy condition of general intelligence and virile civic pride under which the public welfare is the concern of all, and all citizens, moved by one impulse, strive for the common end of good results in the conduct of the municipal business. That is the theory of the system. In practice it is usually thwarted by the persistence of practical politics and the indifference of the masses to public business that does not affect their private interests. Mayor Low was placed in office by a combination of political organizations that were held together only by the common purpose to redeem the city from a rule of ignorance, extravagance and corruption. As soon as he was elected, Mr. Low interpreted his success as a vindication of his theory that cities should be governed by individual servants and that parties should exercise no control and bear no responsibility. He proceeded to organize his administration to conform to that theory. He did not even accept as binding upon him the controlling motive of the campaign that elected him, which was that the other party should be turned out. He put his theory of personal responsibility into practice and placed at the head of one of the great departments of the city a man who had worked

and voted for the party that lost the election. If the mayor in any way sought to reward with offices the organizations that contributed to his election, he was skillful in concealing his purpose; in fact he made it clear that every man he appointed would be a personal selection and not the choice of any party or leader

The plan of Mayor Low has been tried in many small towns and cities of the country, and in a few cases has succeeded. In municipalities where the limits of population admit of every citizen knowing personally the merits and characteristics of all of his fellow-citizens, it is understandable that men for the public service may be selected and elected again and again because of recognized fitness, and with complete disregard of partisan feeling. But in a city of the magnitude of New York such conditions are impossible, therefore the experiment of Mayor Low is unique. For more than a century the people of the United States have been trained to divide on party lines on all matters affecting local, state or national government. A habit so long established cannot, with the slow moving, order loving Anglo-Saxon race, be overthrown in a year, or in the life of one local administration. Therein lies the problem and the difficulty that confronts Mayor Low and his administration of personal responsibility.

The present mayor and the other elected officers of his administration were selected, nominated and elected as partisans. Collectively they represented various factions and interests of partisanship, but there was a common cause, a bond of union, and that was unqualified opposition to the faction of a party that was in control of the city government at the time of the campaign. The ostensible impulse of every faction so combined was the determination to have more intelligent, more progressive and more economical government; in brief,



to substitute good government for that which was known to be bad. But back of all these high resolves, these noble purposes in the interest of the general welfare, there was, scarcely half-concealed, a mass of selfish personal and partisan interests. Mayor Low and his associates on the fusion ticket could not have been ignorant of the exact situation, because they were at all times in close touch with every move of the campaign. They accepted this peculiar union, or combination of political and personal interests, as a means to an end—that end the substitution of good government for bad, and on that acceptance they were elected.

As soon as the fusion administration was in power the alleged disinterested professions and assertions of the campaign changed to almost peremptory repetition of the Marcy epigram of politics, "To the victors belong the spoils." Mayor Low refused to be commanded or cajoled. In public speeches and in private talks he acknowledged the importance of all contributing support to the fusion ticket, but insisted upon accepting at its face value the campaign assertion of all the combined forces that they sought only good government. Mr. Low's honest and complete acceptance of that declaration involved the carrying out to the letter of a policy of personal responsibility for the conduct of the municipal business, so at the outset all political considerations were eliminated.

The rallying cry of the fusion campaign was "Down with Tammany," but under Mayor Low, who personifies the success of that public feeling, no man has been removed from city office or employment on the specific charge that he was a member of Tammany. The first result of that interpretation of a condition following a theory was a collection of charges against the mayor, the gist of all of them being that he was not true to ante-election pledges. To these

charges Mayor Low has made no specific denial or answer, but even those who make the charges might in common fairness admit that he has of right and truth the sweeping answer and denial in one, that the political and semi-political elements that supported him did, in the hour of triumph, forget all ante-election pledges and promises and demand offices and other official favors on a basis of percentages of votes polled. These demands the mayor has consistently and effectively resisted to the probable undoing of some of the campaign organizations that were born of the hope of political reward, and lived a brief and wavering life on the unauthorized promises of self-constituted leaders that such rewards would in good time be realized.

Warnings of the ultimate and complete failure of Mayor Low's system of personal responsibility in city government have already been spread broadcast by authorized representatives of the factions and organizations that contributed to his election. If these warnings should prove true and Tammany regains control of the city in 1903, the lesson will be that American citizenship is not yet ready to rise clear of political partisanship, and that the time is not ripe for personal responsibility and business methods in the government of cities of the first class. Influenced by the taint of partisanship, the popular impression is that the best government that can be provided by Mayor Low's system of non-partisanship is predestined to failure of continuance.

The late William L. Strong, a banker and merchant, was elected mayor of New York under conditions very similar to those that resulted in the election of Seth Low in 1901. There was a revolt of good citizens against the corruption, ignorance and flagrant protection of vice permitted by Tammany Hall. To defeat the party in power at that time it was necessary

to organize the various factions and political elements of good citizenship and nominate a ticket representing all the units of the general organization. Mayor Strong undertook to please all these organized elements of his support in his distribution of patronage and ended by satisfying none. The general organization that placed him in office collapsed like a house of cards in a wind storm, and in the first municipal campaign in the greater New York all efforts to again bring together those units were unavailing and Tammany elected its candidates with ease. The lesson of that result was plain. Good citizens of a great municipality will unite when aroused against a corrupt local government, but in such union there is always a reserve of individual selfishness and collective political partisanship. These elements invariably unite to demand the material rewards of victory at the polls.

Mayor Low's government is unique in resolutely and effectively resisting all demands of substantial reward for being good and voting to promote the common welfare. The problem of this system of personal as opposed to party responsibility to the whole people is chiefly one of education. Can the voters of a great city be educated in two years to a degree of civic pride and general intelligence at which they will in local elections continuously ignore party ties and political prejudices? The indications are that the answer will be a negative one.

Among the masses of voters in great cities there is a large and steadily increasing element of men who want office or employment in the service of the municipality. They expect better pay, shorter hours and lighter work in such employment than they obtain in other service. That is perhaps the first, but not always the chief, consideration, because a man in the service of the city commands a certain amount of local



appreciation and homage. A city officer or employee is in a way elevated above his friends and companions in the same walks of life.

The men who habitually seek public office or employment have with few exceptions been trained in the school of politics. They belong to one or the other of the great political parties or act with a faction opposed to both. Therefore they expect to obtain such office or employment through political channels. They know something of the civil service, but as a rule hold it in contempt, and are confident that it is useless without political influence. Such men may be honest; they may be good citizens, sincerely desirous of rendering valuable service in public office or employment, but they are committed to the political system that has the indorsement of a century of American methods of government. When such men support a reform ticket in a city campaign, they may be honestly and thoroughly aroused against the government they help to overthrow, but when victory is won they expect substantial and immediate reward. They do not and will not understand that minor officers under a corrupt government may be personally honest and competent, and therefore may be safely and advantageously retained in the public service by a "reform" government.

This natural and innocent misunderstanding of conditions is in large measure responsible for the antagonism at once aroused by the system of government established by Mayor Low. No matter how honest, progressive and economical the government he provides, it will be criticised and condemned by the disappointed. Such a government must be conspicuously successful in order to advance the general education of the people towards the complete realization of the theory that partisan politics has no place in the management of the business affairs of a great American city.

## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

IT WOULD tend greatly to clarify the public mind on the tariff controversy in congress if somebody would explain just why the "administration" faction is so very anxious to "help Cuba" by cutting the duty on raw sugar, and is willing to let "poor Cuba" starve rather than touch the differential on refined sugar?

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FOR THE BENEFIT of the pessimists who insist that sin is on the increase, it is a great satisfaction to be able to announce that in Champaign County, Ohio, the morality of the people is such that a magistrate who was elected six times in succession, for terms of three years each, did not try a single case or have one on his docket during the whole eighteen years, although the township is said to be thickly populated by prosperous agricultural people of mixed nationalities and religion. In view of this, who will say the world is growing worse or that Ohio is a wicked state?

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THE RESIGNATION of Dr. Patton, and the instantaneous election of Professor Wilson as president of Princeton University, was apparently a surprise to everybody except Dr. Patton. It has been rumored in certain quarters that Dr. Patton took this method of resigning to head off a certain plan that was being developed to crowd him out to make room for another. The Hon Grover Cleveland is said to have been interested in this move which Dr. Patton so effectively headed off by tendering his resignation and naming his successor at the same meeting.

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THE ARREST of Rosenthal and Cohen, the silk importers, for defrauding the government through wrong

valuations of imports, is a striking vindication of the position and policy of ex-Appraiser Wakeman. Mr. Wakeman reported these cases at the time, but Collector Bidwell, District Attorney Burnett and Secretary of the Treasury Gage refused to act, although the fraud was distinctly proven and the appraiser sustained by the facts. This was the chief cause of Mr. Wakeman's removal, which this very firm has openly boasted it secured. It is now in order for the president to reinstate Mr. Wakeman as appraiser, or, better still, to make him assistant secretary of the treasury, so that his experience with this machinery of dishonest administration may be used in the interest of the government, and at a point where it could be effective throughout the customs service.

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THE QUESTION is being raised in several quarters, both in and out of congress, as to what Mr. Whitelaw Reid, special ambassador to the court of St. James at the coronation of Edward VII., is to represent. He does not represent the American people, either through an expressed popular opinion or by official appointment, or in any other known sense. He could not be an official ambassador representing this government without being confirmed by the senate, and he has had no such confirmation. The inquiry seems to have developed the fact that Mr. Reid will represent nobody but himself, except, perhaps, Mr. Roosevelt, who appears to have given him a letter of introduction, provided he pay all his own expenses. Considering the political sacrifices Mr. Reid has made, and the financial budget he will have to meet to secure this privilege, everybody hopes he will get his money's worth in royal recognition.

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HON. GROVER CLEVELAND has emerged from "politi-



cal banishment" to announce again to the American people that they are being oppressed and impoverished by "huge industrial aggregations that throttle individual enterprise" and by "a system of tariff taxation whose robbing exactions are far beyond the needs of economical and legitimate government expenditure, which purchases support by appeals to sordidness and greed, and which continually debauches the public conscience."

It will be remembered that this same Mr. Cleveland made this same kind of a speech announcing the same kind of discoveries regarding the oppression and robbery of the people ten years ago. Mr. Cleveland, however, has one advantage now that he did not have in 1892. He has the encouragement of the *New York Tribune* and other administration organs making war on protection and protected industries.

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THE WHOLE WORLD is gratified that the war in South Africa is ended. There have been few such conflicts in the world's history. The Boers were great fighters, but they fought to resist the march of civilization. It matters not what the individual virtues of certain Boer leaders were, or the vices of certain British leaders, the fact remains that the Boers were fighting for a narrow, oppressive oligarchy, not for free democratic institutions. Under such a government and with such motives, and such men as Kruger at the head, the Boers could never have become a free, progressive nation. They made war upon the forces which were bound to liberalize their oligarchy into a democracy. They saw it coming and struck the first blow.

They have been beaten, but at a great price, and their bravery has won for them the most liberal terms ever granted to a defeated people. They receive \$15,000,000 to restock their farms, with the promise of

further aid in cash loans for a time without interest, and then on the easiest conditions. All their deported generals and soldiers are to be returned at the British expense. If they accept the situation in good faith, which they seem to be doing, they will soon have a richer and more prosperous country and a larger amount of real democracy and free government than ever was dreamed of by Oom Paul.

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AT LAST the movement for substituting direct nominations for the present convention method is making real progress in New York city. In Brooklyn the republican organization has practically accepted direct nominations as a party issue. In the borough of Manhattan this reform is showing signs of great activity and growth. Last week the friends of this movement in the nineteenth senatorial district had a dinner, at which nearly 140 covers were laid. Those present were not political Micawbers, but characterful, public-spirited citizens. This prompted the New York *Sun* to devote a leading editorial to the subject, in which it remarked:

"We distinctly remember that many of the men who are now putting their trust in direct nominations were sublimely confident a little while ago that the Australian ballot would make the individual voter absolutely independent and wither the bosses in their pride. And now another remedy is advertised." . . .

The *Sun* appears to be a little confused. The Australian ballot applied only to the polls at the final elections, and there it has fulfilled all that was claimed for it; it did its work completely, and it is because the Australian ballot has been such a great success at the election that it should be extended to the nominations. Then the voters will be as independent at the primaries as they now are at the polls, and this is all the advocates of direct nominations ask or desire. Does the *Sun* object to that?

BY THE FORMAL request of the miners in five districts, President Mitchell has been compelled to call a national convention to consider what further steps, if any, shall be taken to strengthen the position of the striking miners in the anthracite coal fields. The leading question to be considered by the convention will be the extending of the strike into the bituminous field. This would practically shut off the entire coal supply, thereby paralyzing all manufacture and transportation throughout the country. The consequence of such a move to business and to the public can hardly be anticipated. It would be nothing short of a national calamity. If this strike should become general and paralyze industry, the responsibility must rest on those who made a peaceful conference and rational adjustment impossible. This time, at least, the responsibility for the strike is not with the men, but with those who refused the conference and denied to the men the right of a voice in adjusting the scale for the coming year. And from this responsibility there will ultimately be no escape.

Large corporations are doing a wonderfully good work in developing the industrial resources of the nation. But if they are to be in the hands of shortsighted, arrogant men, who use their power to deny the laborers the ordinary right of organization, they may prove a calamity to society. This sort of thing cannot go on, and if it is pushed to the limit those who push it will be the losers. Capital is very important to society, but it cannot monopolize the right to dictate both sides of the labor contract, and every attempt so to do will endanger its own security.

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EVERY FRIEND of the administration and of business prosperity must regret the conflict between the president and congress over the Cuban question. From



every point of view it was a serious mistake, and most of all because it was wholly unnecessary. So far as treating Cuba generously is concerned, every one was agreed. It was only a question of how it should be done, and on that congress was the proper party to decide, and in the end must decide. All the dissenting senators and congressmen asked was that the relief should be given without changing the tariff and endangering the prosperity of any American industry. This was in thorough accord with the president's message to congress, hence the party and the country were justified in expecting his entire acquiescence in that policy. But under the unfortunate influence of Secretary Root and Governor Wood, who are doubtful protectionists, the president appears to have insisted that the relief should come in a reduction of duties. Besides conflicting with the party policy and his own message, this was transcending the province of the executive. Moreover, it would have gained nothing for Cuba's relief that was not already offered by the rebate proposition.

If the president thinks he is strengthening himself for another term by this policy he is likely soon to be undeceived. He is getting great praise from free trade and democratic papers, but they are the very ones who would rejoice at his fall. They will urge him on to disrupt the tariff, but they can do nothing to give him either a renomination or election. All this is a great misfortune, and if carried far enough may prove to be a national calamity.

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A BILL HAS PASSED the house of representatives, and is now before the senate, providing for the admission of New Mexico, Oklahoma and Arizona to statehood. These territories had a combined population of 716,486 in 1900; Oklahoma 398,245, New Mexico 195,310, and

Arizona 122,931. If this act becomes law, these three states, with a joint population only about one-third larger than Baltimore, St. Louis or Boston, or a little over half as large as Brooklyn, less than half as large as Philadelphia, about one-third as large as Chicago, and about one fifth as large as New York city, would acquire six United States senators and three members of congress. In other words, each voter in New Mexico would have 37 times, and in Arizona 59 times, as much power in the United States senate as the average citizen in New York state. The twelve mountain states, with a total population of only 4,091,349, have 24 senators, while New York, with nearly twice the population, has only two. The average citizen in these twelve states already has about 21 times as much voting power in the United States senate as the voter in New York state. As between Nevada and New York, the power of the individual voter as reflected in the United States senate is about 180 to one. To add Oklahoma, New Mexico and Arizona is still further to increase this political inequality of representation in the senate.

This is a foretaste of what we may expect the policy of expansion to give us. If New Mexico, with less than 200,000 population, the large majority of whom are ignorant, half-Indian greasers, living in dobies and dug-outs on ten cents a day and utterly unqualified to exercise any political power whatever, can be given statehood and a representation per capita 37 times greater than the citizens of New York, what logic or influence can be expected to prevent extending the same statehood to Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippines just as soon as their voting power is needed in the senate for party purposes?

## THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers to them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics of ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

### QUESTION BOX

#### Ethics o "Government by Injunction"

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—It seems to me that in your objections to so-called "government by injunction" you get very far away from certain fundamental principles. This whole matter is really a question of personal rights. If a man is honest and conducts a legitimate business, he is entitled to public protection in running his business in his own way, so long as he keeps within the law; and a malicious conspiracy of his employees against him should no more be permitted than any other kind of conspiracy for which the law provides. If his employees have a dispute with him, that is no reason why the public should allow them to drive him into bankruptcy, for it is not a matter that affects the public but only the parties concerned. Where a social ostracism is used against undesirable persons, the whole community is interested, but this is not so in a dispute between the employer and his men, and it is by no means to be assumed that the men are always right and the employer always wrong. To permit this conspiracy of boycotting, therefore, practically makes the whole community endorse and support a persecution in which they have no interest or concern.

M. S. E.

This is not correct. The whole community is interested in any business firm treating its laborers properly quite as much as they are in a social set keeping out people who are objectionable to it, which in some



cases may be merely because they have not money enough or a long enough genealogy. The public is always interested in the laborers' side of a strike, provided the strike is conducted by moral methods and for legitimate industrial purposes. It is not to be supposed that workmen will conspire, or even that it is possible for them successfully to conspire, against any business firm for a mere whim. They could not get their own friends to support them any considerable length of time in such a cause. But when a business concern, like a sweat-shop, persists in making itself objectionable to the laborers, and they have not sufficient power to force better conditions merely by striking, they are justified in appealing to their fellow-laborers not to buy the goods of this firm.

In the matter of the sweat-shops, they are doing a distinctly humane and social work. In the sweat-shop case, the firm that uses the union label is necessarily a firm whose workshop conforms to the legal sanitary requirements; the union label cannot be given otherwise; it is always an evidence that employers recognize their laborers' right to negotiate regarding wages, etc., and that they are paying, if a very poor price, at least the standard price. A sweat-shop firm that refuses the union label is very likely to be one which dodges the factory inspectors or bribes them, evades the factory laws, and does not conform to the sanitary requirements; and, moreover, does not treat its laborers either with proper recognition or pay the standard rate. A firm that does this is no friend to public welfare. The clothes that it makes are not so wholesome, they are not sure to be free from disease;—all of which are matters in which the public as well as the laborers are deeply concerned, especially when we know that nearly all ready-made clothing is manufactured in these shops, the merchants' denial to the contrary notwithstanding. Even reputable

Broadway clothiers have goods manufactured in these sweat-shops, though they all deny it. Every wearer of ready-made clothes is deeply interested in every strike or every boycott which is used to make a clothing manufacturer recognize the union and obey the law.

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### The Boers and the Filipinos

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I notice you have steadily approved of the British conquest in South Africa but regard our course in the Philippines as all wrong. Where is the difference? If anything, the Boers had a much better right to keep their independence than the Filipinos have to demand an independence they have never enjoyed.

W. S. T.

The difference between the South African and the Filipino case has been repeatedly pointed out in these pages. The essential difference is this: in South Africa the government was not a democracy, but a narrow, persecuting oligarchy. It used the power of government to enslave the natives on the one hand, and to oppress and rob, by flagrantly outrageous taxation, foreigners whom it had invited to its country. These foreigners developed the resources of the country, created the wealth and were excluded from the political rights of citizens in a most scandalous manner. In short, the Boer government was a medieval despotism in the hands of a few narrow-minded, superstitious settlers. They declared war against England, invaded English territory, destroyed English property and for a time routed the English army, not in defence of any rights involved in modern civilization or democracy, but to prevent the growth of modern civilization and truly representative institutions in South Africa. They saw democracy coming and declared war to prevent it. It was not in the interest of freedom that the Boers took

up arms, but to prevent real freedom from getting a footing in South Africa. In their case, as in all others of that character, they represented a lost cause.

In the Philippines the case is very nearly the reverse. The Filipinos had no previous relation with the United States government, and were under no treaty or implied obligation to it, as were the Boers to England. We fought Spain and wrested by force the Philippines from Spanish power. To take away the appearance of conquest, we went through the farce of buying the islands for \$20,000,000, which was very much like the superstitious habit of giving a cent for a knife when one does not want to take it as a present. The Filipinos had nothing whatever to do with it. They were even betrayed into silence until it was too late. They had not invited our people there to settle and develop the country and become citizens, and then denied them the right of citizenship. The truth is, we were gratuitous intruders from first to last.

There is nothing in common, therefore, between the British situation in South Africa and ours in the Philippines. On the contrary, the British in South Africa represent the defence of industrial and civilized rights, free government and equitable taxation. In the Philippines we represent conquest and subjugation by force. The only excuse, if excuse it can be called, in our case, is that we insist upon planting civilization in the Philippines. Deception with Aguinaldo and his friends after the taking of Manila, the cowardly treachery of Funston in his capture of Aguinaldo, and the disgraceful disclosures of our treatment of the natives by torture, are among the natural consequences, and evidences of the supreme folly, of a superior race undertaking to force its civilization upon an inferior and rule them by alien authority.



### Compulsory Arbitration

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Is it not a fact that the third party in all great labor strikes, namely, the consuming public, is the one persistently and utterly ignored? And if there should be a coal famine, with all its hardships, have not the public a right to hold somebody responsible and insist on a settlement being reached? In other words, are not these matters likely to reach a point where the public will insist on establishing compulsory arbitration, pending which work shall continue as usual?

M. S.

Yes, it is true that the consuming public is an important party in any labor strike, and there is a sense in which the public is even the most important party, because it represents so much the greater number. It is difficult, however, to see how it can hold anybody responsible, if by responsibility is meant to be held responsible by the courts for the damage done. That would destroy the freedom of both employers and laborers to have a dispute at all. The community must stand for the disadvantages arising from industrial disturbances, whatever the cause. Its redress cannot be in repressing the free action of either party. That would be to arrest progress. The only means of redress for the public against these disturbances is to insist through public opinion and legislation that the opportunities for a fair and free contest shall exist. If the employers persist in being unfair and overbearing because they have the power, public opinion, and ultimately legislation, will take sides against them. It may take the form of compulsory arbitration, which would be a misfortune, or it may take the harsher form of increasing the inquisitorial interference with corporate concerns. It is quite certain that large corporations will not long be permitted to indulge in associations and combinations, and then do as the coal rail-

roads are now doing: namely, refuse the right of the laborers to organize at all. In this sense the corporations will have to reckon with the public, and the penalty for the obvious unfairness may come in a form much severer than they imagine.

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### Are Injunctions the Employers' Only Defence?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—You are taking very positive ground against labor injunctions, but, as a matter of fact, what other remedy that amounts to anything can employers have? If no action can be taken until after property is destroyed or a business seriously injured, the employer has no redress. The offenders may be punished, but it is impossible for the employer to collect damages from workingmen. If he cannot prevent damage in advance, he cannot prevent or replace his loss at all.

E. M. R.

The idea that employers need injunctions to protect their property from destruction is largely subterfuge. They have never been in any real danger in that respect. The real purpose of using the injunction is to prevent a strike. Of course, in preventing the strike they hope to prevent loss, not so much from destruction of property as from interruption of business; but the bottom motive is not even that. It is to prevent the laborers from being able to strike successfully, and thus defeat the power of organized labor to enforce any demands whatever upon employers. At any rate, justice clearly demands that before a corporation has the right to apply for or be granted an injunction against laborers, it should be compelled to prove that its property is in danger, and the evidence of this should not be less conclusive than would be required to secure an injunction against another corporation or from malicious individuals. If they were compelled to do this there would scarcely ever be an injunction granted.

The truth is, the injunction against laborers is wrongly used. It is a perversion of the whole idea which brought the power of injunction into existence. The law framed by Senator Hoar covers this point exactly. It provides that an injunction which would not obtain against an individual laborer shall not obtain against a collection of individuals. In other words, those asking for an injunction must prove that there is real danger to property before the injunction should be granted. That is exactly what corporations have never done in applying for injunctions against laborers.

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### When May the Tariff Be Revised?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In your article "Warning from the Census" you attribute the slow progress of the last decade chiefly to the tariff agitation and democratic victory of 1892, and then give a warning against repeating any such blunder. Do you mean that the tariff in its present form is perfect, so that no change must ever be made in it? If not, when will it ever be in order to suggest any changes? If any and all so-called "reopening of the tariff question" is going to bring on panics and hard times, it would look as if the Dingley law might as well be made a permanent amendment to the constitution of the United States for good and all.

E. G. C.

It is not necessary to inquire whether the present tariff law shall remain forever without change. Suffice it to say that the best interests of the country, all the interests of business prosperity and financial stability, demand that it neither be changed nor a change discussed at present. There is no important economic need of it, and it would involve business disturbance and danger to the national prosperity. It is quite safe to say that another decade should be permitted to pass before congress undertakes a revision of the tariff, and



when that does take place it should be done on more scientific and sound economic principles than it ever was before; and the longer it is delayed the more chance there will be of a rational revision when it comes.

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### What Would Justify Annexation?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—If the Cuban government should break down and revolutions spring up, injuring American interests and inviting foreign interference, do you not think the United States would be justified in annexing the island outright?

L. R. W.

The United States will be justified in doing whatever is necessary to protect the interest of this country against foreign powers, whether they be European, Asiatic, or Cuba itself. But annexation should be the last instead of the first thing thought of. There is no probability whatever of such a necessity arising, except in the minds of a certain class who are seeking an excuse for territorial expansion through annexation. We are already having experience enough in the annexation policy to show what kind of carpet-bag despotism would be likely to crop out under a colonial policy. The records of our doings in the Philippines are well-nigh scandalous, and now comes the news that the much-lauded and overrated General Wood, who had been entrusted with the military governorship of Cuba, has been actually using funds from the public treasury to aid a political propaganda here in the United States, a thing never known before in the annals of constitutional history.

## BOOK REVIEWS

HISTORY OF INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT: ON THE LINES OF MODERN EVOLUTION. By John Beattie Crozier. Two volumes. Longmans, Green & Co., London, New York and Bombay.

This work is a very ambitious attempt to treat the problem of civilization historically as an evolution and constructively as projecting the lines upon which nations and civilization should be reconstructed, so as to put social institutions into natural relation to the law of evolution. The scheme of the work was to comprise three volumes, but the author decided to write the third volume before attempting the task of the second. The reason for this, the author tells us, which was due to a suggestion by John Morley, was that through a fear of failing eyesight, which might prevent the ultimate completion of the work, he decided to write the third volume, because that contained his scheme for reconstructing the political institutions of modern nations. This scheme being the practical outcome of the whole work, it was thought more important to give the third volume, which should contain it, before running the risk of failure to complete the work by writing the second volume.

The first volume is a very able review of the history of natural development. As is necessary in such a work, much space is devoted to the development of the different ideas of religion and theories of the universe. Most of this ground has been equally well covered by Draper, Comte and Spencer. The advantage of this work over any of those named, however, is that when the second volume is added it is intended to furnish a logical, historical foundation upon which to apply a constructive theory of practical statesmanship, applicable to all

nations and races. This does not mean, of course, that the same policy would produce the same effects on all nations and under all conditions, but rather that the general principle is applicable to all nations, the means varying according to the various states of civilization and other conditions.

There is much wholesome sanity in the author's discussion of the experiments and theories for creating ideal society. His chapter on "Some Economic Ideals," "The Practical Statesman" and "Socialism" are filled with wholesome sense and helpful criticism. Few authors write so discriminately of the characteristics of the institutions of different countries. The author is manifestly free from any partisan devotion to monarchy and aristocracy, yet he has but scant regard for the political formula of absolute equality. He clearly observes the tendency of progress towards democracy of government and economic freedom, but he has little respect for the English fetish *laissez faire*, which comes in for frequent reference. Socialism and communism are very ably discussed and are shown to be among the false utopias born of the absolute equality idea. Showing how the same idea or policy will arise in different countries from different causes, he says (page 71):

"The cry for liberty, equality and fraternity arose in France and was blown into a white heat primarily by *political* causes, while the cries for *laissez faire*, freedom of contract, and the rest, were in England due to causes primarily *economic*, so the enthusiasm for universal suffrage had in these respective countries a similarly opposite origin, while in America it had an origin different from both."

The nib of his scheme for political reconstruction is that institutions should rest upon character and capacity, instead of on caste, blood and tradition on the one hand, or mere equal rights of all to everything, and the rotation of office, on the other.

In France the tendency should be to eliminate socialism and communism and encourage more concen-



tration of productive energies, especially in the direction of the land, into larger yieldings, and on the side of labor the encouragement of trade unions and cooperative societies.

In England the scheme is to eliminate the reverence for class distinction and family tradition, but keep the quality of the English gentlemen as a conspicuous standard of merit.

In America our author thinks we have altogether too much equality. As to the house of representatives in congress, but for the veto of the president, he thinks:

"No machinery deliberately designed for the encouragement of bribery and corruption could be more accurately adapted to the purpose than this of congress; or, for that matter, of the legislatures of the several states. All the arrangements which in civil life experience has suggested and art perfected for successful assignation, and for the bringing together of the conspirator and his victims, have here reached their flower and consummation."

As a remedy for much of this corrupting influence in the American congress, this author would deprive committees of much of their power of private session, commit all bills and proposals for legislation to a general committee before committing them to the individual standing or special committees, and so bring the proposals for legislation under a greater and more responsible body in congress. He would have longer terms of office, have elections for different officers at different times, and have cities segregated from all interference with state legislatures; in other words, establish distinct municipal home rule.

In the sphere of economics, he says the growing large corporations and trusts are a natural characteristic of industrial development, but in order to prevent them from exercising injurious control in industry every encouragement should be given to the organization and development of labor unions, that the one may become quite as dangerous if the development of the other is

not measurably encouraged. Here, again, he points out that the United States is in danger of suffering from the fetish of "utopian equality" much as England is from that of *laissez faire*.

The author's methods for accomplishing economic and political reconstruction are here outlined with some detail and not a little sense, and he admits must be brought about by education. The method of this education should be to establish a bible of the nations; that is to say, it shall have an intelligent authorship, and shall contain the standard for general policy of statesmanship, a political bible containing the accepted principles along the lines of which public policy should be conducted for the development of the highest character, efficient government and economic relations. No blanket method of absolute equality, in which every man is as good as every other, and should hold all the offices in rotation, or every man receive as much wages as every other, or any system which should arbitrarily make social caste the line of demarcation for preference, can ever produce this result. He says (page 220):

"Then, again, our new political bible would keep within reasonable bounds the doctrine of *laissez faire*, or leave all things alone to work out their own destiny, a doctrine which grew directly out of the factory system, and presided over the politics of England in the interests of the employers for the greater part of the century; an utopia founded on the illusion that because men on the pavement and traffic on the street (where all have equal rights) will get along best if left to themselves and the rule of the road, it will be the same with industry,—even should a certain number of persons have succeeded, like barons of the middle ages, in seizing the favored positions on the heights, and so be able to exact tax and toll from all who chance to pass by. . . . Our bible of civilization as supreme guide in practical politics would have prevented these extreme utopias."

There is much to be said in favor of the idea at least that, as industrial and political life becomes more complex, principles of political philosophy and sound doctrine become more and more necessary in shaping all

public policy, and that these may become effective they must become more or less authoritative. In no other way will the hit-and-miss, haphazard industrial legislation and political policy with which this country is now being afflicted be overcome.

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ISRAEL PUTNAM: PIONEER, RANGER AND MAJOR-GENERAL. By William Farrand Livingston. Cloth, 442 pages. Price, by mail, \$1.50. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

Mr. Livingston has given us quite an interesting and painstaking biography of one of the most strenuous of our colonial and revolutionary heroes. A reasonable effort has been made to separate the fiction from the fact in the life of Putnam, and, judged from the references to sources of information, the author speaks as one having authority, and not as a mere romancer.

Most people think of Israel Putnam as warrior and adventurer, whose daring led him to follow a she-wolf to her den, and perform other feats requiring marvelous physical courage. But another side of his character is revealed in this book.

Gen. Putnam was a successful man of affairs in his day and generation. He was prudent and prosperous, had an interesting family, and for the time a particularly attractive home. Therefore, when he left his plow standing in the furrow to join the patriot army, he was giving up all that men hold dear in this world, and not simply going to war as a congenial pastime. He became a successful warrior, as he was a successful farmer, on his merits. In addition to all this we are told that he was a humane and kindly man, helpful to his neighbors and loyal to his friends to a marked degree.

Putnam's ancestors were men of sense and convic-



tion, and of unusual independence for the time. Israel's paternal grandfather, Joseph, was about the only man in Salem, Massachusetts, who had the foresight to see, and the force of character to denounce and oppose, the wickedness of the witchcraft craze. For this wisdom in advance of his fellows, Joseph lost social caste, and came near losing his life. But his bravery saved him from the fury of the fanatics, which was visited without stint upon more timid men.

Livingston's *Life of Putnam* is finely illustrated, fac-simile letters written by the old hero being among the pictures which embellish the book.

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CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. By George H. Martin, A. M. Cloth, 335 pages. Price 90 cents. American Book Company, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

This book is really a condensed political history of the United States and the colonies out of which the union was formed and is intended for a school text book. It also contains an explanation and review of the various forms of government existing in the world.

Part III. treats of the constitutional government of Massachusetts, and a very clear idea is given of the town meeting system upon which New England government is based.

Part IV., comprising about 75 pages, is devoted to the constitution and government of the United States. In harmony with the general plan of the book, considerable attention is given to history, as well as to an exposition of the character and operation of government.

An appendix contains the declaration of independence and the constitution of the United States.

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#### NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

*A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great.* By J. B. Burr, M. A. With maps and plans.

In two volumes. Cloth, 1036 pp., \$8.00. The Macmillan Co., New York.

*Principles of Sanitary Science and the Public Health.* With special reference to the causation and prevention of infectious diseases. By William T. Sedgwick, Ph.D. Cloth, 368 pp., \$3.00. The Macmillan Co., New York.

*The Lower South in American History.* By William Garrott Brown, Lecturer in History at Harvard University. Cloth, gilt top, 270 pp., \$1.50. The Macmillan Co., New York.

*Daniel Everton, Volunteer-Regular.* A Romance of the Philippines. By Israel Putnam. Cloth, 12mo, 407 pages, \$1.20 net. With illustrations by Sewell Collins. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York and London.

*Industrial Democracy.* By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Cloth, 929 pages, \$4.00 net. New edition, two volumes bound in one. With appendices and bibliography. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

*Civil Government in the United States.* By George H. Martin, A. M. Cloth, 12mo, 335 pages, 90 cents. American Book Company, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago. Revised Edition.

*History of Scotland.* By P. Hume Brown, M. A., LL.D., University of Edinburgh. Volume II., From the Accession of Mary Stuart to the Revolution of 1689. Cloth, 464 pages, \$1.50. The Macmillan Co., New York.

*Descriptive Geographies From Original Sources.* Central and South America with the West Indies. Selected by F. D. Herbertson, B. A., and edited by A. J. Herbertson, Ph.D., University of Oxford. Cloth, 239 pages, 70 cents. The Macmillan Co., New York.

*Statesman's Year Book.* Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the World for the Year 1902. Edited by J. Scott Keltie, LL.D., Secretary to the Royal Geographical Society. Thirty-ninth Annual Publication. Revised after official returns. Cloth, 1,332 pages, \$3.00. The Macmillan Co., New York.

## FROM JUNE MAGAZINES

"It is a question of the demand outweighing the supply. A beef trust could not limit the output of beef if fat cattle were plentiful and cheap. If it were possible to buy all in sight, dress, store and keep the meat for an indefinite period, such an action might be possible; but beef is perishable, and no man is bound down by laws prohibiting him killing and dressing meat for his own use and selling it to his neighbors. A capital of \$30 or \$40 is all that is required to open a butcher shop in a village when fat cattle sell at \$4.50 to \$5.00 a hundred. It is a business with so many possibilities that the beef trust could not block them all.

"As it is, beef cattle are selling from \$6.75 to \$7.25 a hundred. Take from this one-third waste, and the small butcher cannot compete. He cannot sell steaks at even twenty five cents a pound and make a profit. So the packing houses undersell him, not because of the trust, but because they make profit out of the offal which is waste to him."—G. W. OGDEN, in "Why the Price of Beef is High," *World's Work*.

"There are certain means which may not and shall not be used even if they should serve to bring a war to a speedy termination. There is something worse even than war: namely, the degrading of humanity to the brutal level of using abhorrent means to stop a war. In former times poison was sometimes administered or assassination was employed as a means of cutting off the life of the commander of the enemy's army, especially when his ability was the chief obstacle to success. Poisoning and assassination are prohibited in modern warfare; and yet it cannot be denied that if a conspiracy had been formed during our civil war to take off secretly the leading confederate generals—Robert E. Lee and



Johnston and a few others—and if it could have been carried out successfully, the result might have been to cause the speedy collapse of the confederacy, thus deprived of the strategic skill requisite for the leading of armies. By the sacrifice of a few lives, tens of thousands of lives might have been saved and incalculable suffering prevented. And yet, in what frame of mind do you suppose would McClellan, or Grant, or the president, or the people of the North have received the proposition to end the war by assassinating the ablest commanders on the other side? And this shows that the speedy termination of the struggle, at any cost, is not the sole nor the supreme rule that should govern action; that there are certain means which, however they may conduce to that end, we dare not use because they are unhallowed and infamous; and the distinction between civilized and uncivilized methods is just this distinction between the sort of means which a civilized people will permit itself to use and that which it will not permit itself to use.”—PROF. FELIX ADLER, in “The Philippine War: Two Ethical Questions,” *The Forum*.

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For several years the advertisements of the Mead Cycle Company have appeared in the columns of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. Every year the business of this company has grown, until now it exceeds 50,000 bicycles sold through mail orders all over the world each year. The Mead Cycle Company keeps its factories running all winter, storing up wheels of the finest quality, and is always ready in the spring and summer to fill orders promptly. The Mead Cycle Company can ship any wheel at any price the same day the order is received. When writing for catalogues and prices mention GUNTON'S MAGAZINE and address Mead Cycle Company, Dept. R 183, Chicago.





ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR



# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## REVIEW OF THE MONTH

### Progress of the Coal Strike

President Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers' Union, on June 22nd, issued a statement of the miners' case in the strike, in which at least three vital points are made with great force. These relate to the wages of the miners, their productive capacity, and the prices for coal received by the operators. On the first point Mr. Mitchell says:

"The total number of persons employed in and around the anthracite coal mines is 147,500; they are employed never to exceed two hundred days in any one year, and they receive as compensation for their services an average of \$1.42 for a ten hour work day. It will thus be noted that they earn annually less than \$300. Such pay may supply a living on a par with some classes of European laborers, but who will say that it is sufficient to support American citizenship or enable parents to educate and properly maintain their families? True it is that a 10 per cent. increase in wages was granted by the coal operators as a strike concession two years ago, but it is also true that a large proportion of this 10 per cent. was paid back to the companies to buy the suppression of an old powder grievance; moreover, according to reliable commercial agencies, the cost of living has increased, particularly in the purchase of foodstuffs, from 30 to 40 per cent., so that the purchasing power of a miner's earnings is less now than before the strike of 1900."

With reference to the charges made by the operators that the productive capacity of the men deteriorated 12½ per cent. during 1901, Mr. Mitchell quotes United States government statistics to the effect that:

"From 1890 to 1900, inclusive, the mines were in active operation an average of 182 days a year, and for each person employed there were produced 363.58 tons of coal a year, or for each day the mines were in operation 2.16 tons were produced per employee; while in the year 1901, against which the operators so bitterly complained, the mines were in operation 194½ days, and there were produced 475.43 tons for each person employed, or for each day the mines were in operation 2.36 tons were produced per employee, thus showing conclusively that, instead of deterioration, there was a decided improvement in the productive capacity of the men after they became thoroughly organized. Can the unprejudiced reflect upon these facts and conclude that the anthracite miner is not a better workman than he was before the 10 per cent. concession in wages two years ago?"

As to the prices of coal, President Mitchell quotes again from government reports, showing the "selling value of coal loaded on cars at the mines," from 1890 to 1900 inclusive, as compared with 1901, and says:

"The average home value of all coal mined and sold during this period was \$1.48 a ton, while a press bulletin recently issued by Charles D. Walcott, director of the United States Geological Survey, says that for the year 1901 the increase in the value of the anthracite product received at the mines showed a gain of \$27,746,169, or more than 31 per cent., over that of 1900. The average price for the marketed anthracite coal—that is, the product shipped to market or sold to local trade—was \$1.87, the highest figure obtained since 1888. In other words, while, according to President Olyphant, 13 cents a ton represents the operators' increased cost of production in 1901, 39 cents a ton—as compared with 1900—represents the increased value of the product to the operators."

So strong a presentation could not be ignored by the operators without practically confessing inability to dispute Mitchell's facts. This, nevertheless, is just what the operators have done, contenting themselves merely with declaring his statement to be "misleading."

Good Conduct  
of Strikers

Meanwhile, the strike is proceeding in the main along peaceable lines, although it is inevitable that minor disturbances should occur now and then at some point or other in

the wide territory affected. Considering the general type of men involved in this contest, the strike thus far must be set down as one of the most orderly ever conducted. Two incidents, illustrating a spirit of fairness on the part of the men, are at least worth recording at a time when every scrap of available evidence against them is being marshalled into print. On June 13th it was reported from Wilkesbarre that one of the large breakers of the Delaware and Hudson Company was threatened with destruction by fire, owing to an adjoining building having been struck by lightning. The property was saved, however, by the prompt aid of a party of strikers, who voluntarily cooperated with the firemen.

The other incident, reported July 12th, is the offer made by President Duffy, of the miner's union in the "ninth district," to aid the sheriff of Carbon county in preserving order at the mines. This offer was to place peace committees around the collieries to prevent violent outbreaks, as was done by Mr. Mitchell in Wilkesbarre on a previous occasion, when serious trouble was threatened.

**The National  
Defence Plan**

There has been considerable talk of a sympathetic strike of the soft coal miners, but the best men among the labor leaders have all along been opposed to this step. It is clearly recognized by these men that for the soft coal miners to violate their agreement with the operators would be practically to destroy their standing and influence as an organization, and undo the work of years of effort to obtain recognition. A much better plan is now being considered by the national miners' convention, in session at Indianapolis. If it is adopted, a national defence fund will be established, by which the soft coal miners will contribute out of their earnings to support



the anthracite miners during the strike. This proposition, as stated by President Mitchell in his address to the convention, is that the national union appropriate \$50,000 to the help of the striking miners; that all local unions be appealed to for donations; that an assessment of not less than \$1 a week be levied on all members of local unions, and an assessment of 25 per cent. on all union officials receiving \$60 a month or more; that an appeal be made to all American trade unions and the general public for funds, and that an address to the American public be prepared "setting forth in proper form the policy of the miners' organization and appealing to the people to bring all possible pressure to bear upon the officers and stockholders of the anthracite coal carrying railroads to compel them to treat considerately the appeals of their employees for arbitration."

President Mitchell's speech in support of this plan was a model of good sense and sound advice. With convincing force he declared that:

"It has been the proud boast of the United Mine Workers of America that during the last several years, or since our organization became a power in the labor world, contracts based solely upon the honor and good faith of our union have under the most trying circumstances been kept inviolate, and in this supreme crisis a failure to live up to the high standard that has made our union pre-eminent among organizations of labor would prove a substantiation of all the charges and allegations made against us by our enemies, and would confirm beyond the possibility of refutation the specious argument of the anthracite coal operators that the United Mine Workers of America is an irresponsible and unsafe body with which to deal."

Such a declaration, if endorsed by the national union, will justify completely the miners' claim to recognition, and remove the last excuse for the employers' arbitrary stand.

**A Stimulus  
to Socialism**

A characteristic specimen of socialist comment on the coal strike appears in the *Milwaukee Social-Democratic Herald*, in which Editor Debs says:

"My advice to you, striking miners, is to keep away from the capitalistic partnership of priest and politician, to cut loose from the civic federation, and to stand together to a man and fight it out yourselves. If you can't win, no one else can win for you; and if in the end you find that the corporations can beat you at the game of famine, you may, and it is hoped that you will, have your eyes opened to the fact that your vote is your best weapon, and that if the 140,000 miners of Pennsylvania will cast a solid vote for socialism, they will soon drive the robbers from the state and take possession of the mines and make themselves the masters of their industry, and the workingmen the rulers of the state.

"As for the army of coal police already marshaled and armed by the governor to shoot the strikers upon the assumption that they are criminals, I advise that the miners in convention assembled unanimously resolve that, while they propose to keep within the law, they also propose to exercise all the rights and privileges the law grants them; and, furthermore, that the monstrous crime of Latimer shall not be repeated, and if any striker is shot down without good cause the first shot shall be the signal for war and the miners will shoot back; and if killing must be the program of the coal barons, let it be an operator for a miner instead of miners only, as in the past."

Every failure of practical arbitration multiplies by many fold the effectiveness of this kind of appeal to the workingmen of America. If the workingmen begin to heed it, and drift into revolutionary movements and uprisings, the responsibility will be with the short-sighted employers who insist upon making peaceable settlement impossible. This in time may be the bitter fruit of refusing to confer with or in any way recognize labor representatives, or to concede to labor the same right of organization which capital exercises for itself. The optimistic phase is, of course, that the coal mine operators in their present attitude do not fairly represent the employers of the country.

**Panama Canal  
Route Adopted**

The long delayed and long hoped for construction of a canal through the isthmus which connects the two Americas at last seems near realization. The conference bill finally adopted by both houses of congress on June 26th authorizes the president to acquire for the United States at a cost not exceeding \$40,000,000 all the property, rights, etc., of the Panama canal company, and to acquire from the republic of Colombia "exclusive and perpetual control of a strip of land not less than six miles wide from the Caribbean sea to the Pacific ocean," with all necessary rights to construct and operate a canal thereon. The bill also appropriates the necessary \$40,000,000 to buy out the Panama canal company, and whatever additional is necessary to secure the necessary rights from Colombia. It then authorizes the president to proceed, through the isthmian canal commission, to construct a canal, making use, so far as possible, of work already done.

Authority is also given the president, in case he cannot secure satisfactory title to the Panama canal company's property and the necessary control of territory from Colombia, to construct a canal by the Nicaragua route, obtaining the necessary rights, etc., from Costa Rica and Nicaragua. The bill appropriates \$10,000,000 as the first instalment on construction work and limits the total to be spent for construction on the Panama route to \$135,000,000, or on the Nicaragua route to \$180,000,000. Authority is given to issue 2 per cent. twenty-year, non-taxable, gold bonds to the amount of \$130,000,000 for construction of the canal, the bonds to be open to popular subscription in denominations of \$20 or some multiple thereof.

The seventh section of the bill creates a canal commission of seven members, to be appointed by the president and confirmed by the senate, which shall have



charge of constructing the canal under the president's direction.

At least four of the commissioners are to be skilled engineers, one an army officer and one a naval officer; the seventh may be a civilian. Colombia has given consent to construction of the canal by the United States, and the details of a treaty are now being arranged.

Certain journals of the kind whose expertness in unearthing imaginary corruption regularly exceeds their devotion to the truth, or even to plain common sense, are denouncing the canal bill as a scheme on the part of Pacific railroad interests to defeat the construction of any canal whatever. The assertion is that only the Nicaragua route could ever be made feasible, chiefly because of the anticipated difficulties in buying out the Panama company and getting concessions from Colombia. Since the bill expressly provides, however, that in case both these matters cannot be satisfactorily arranged we are to proceed at once with the Nicaragua canal, this uproar is not to be taken seriously.

**New Irrigation  
Law**

One of the most wholesome acts of congress during the recent session was the passage of a national irrigation bill, which has now become law. This measure provides for a "reclamation fund," to be made up of money derived from the selling of public lands in Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, Washington, Utah and Wyoming, less certain amounts paid local land officers and the 5 per cent. due the various states on all such sales for educational purposes. This fund is to be used for constructing and operating irrigation works in the above states and territories, and the secretary of the interior

is authorized to construct these works and report to congress at each session on their cost. It is estimated that at least sixty million acres of public land may be irrigated, and to provide against the monopolizing of any of this land no individual land owner is permitted to secure or acquire rights to the used water for a larger tract than 160 acres. It is also provided that the various states named above shall have control over the waters of non-navigable streams for irrigation purposes.

**Addresses at Educational Conferences**      The convocation of the regents of the University of the State of New York and the convention of the National Educational Association are always events of importance in the educational world. They fill the double function, in a sense, of "clearing houses" for the exchange of new ideas in education and mile-posts for the marking of educational progress. This year's gatherings fully sustained the record in quality and significance of the leading addresses. President Harper of Chicago University and Schurman of Cornell made valuable contributions to the discussions at the National Educational Association at Minneapolis, early in July, and President Butler of Columbia University delivered an exceptionally able address at the regents' convocation at Albany, June 30th. Reference can be made only to the more striking portions of these discussions, as, for example, President Harper's remarks on the new Carnegie institution at Washington and the Rhodes scholarship at Oxford. Of the Carnegie fund he declared:

"If, instead of encouraging the work of research and investigation as already established in our institutions of learning, it endeavors to detach such work from those institutions and to gather to itself the responsibility and the credit for such work; if, instead of strengthening the work where it already exists, it undertakes to establish new foundations, independent of these institutions, in order that its own work may

be more tangible, it will prove to be the greatest curse to higher education in this country instead of a blessing."

And of the Rhodes scholarships, while he does not seriously anticipate unfortunate results, nevertheless:

"If the Rhodes scholarships are to be employed to detach from the American environment one hundred or more young men of special ability each year and transport them to foreign soil in order to imbue them with foreign ideas at an age when they are peculiarly impressionable; if the purpose of this foundation is to draw all men to a recognition of the doctrine of imperialism as it is embodied in the British empire, the execution of this trust may prove a curse instead of a blessing to those who avail themselves of its privileges."

President Schurman, speaking on "Education in the Philippines," said:

"On the side of intellect and scholarship the Filipinos may be expected to rival the Japanese, as well as in material civilization and the application of the sciences to industrial life, wherein Japan already presents a very American appearance.

"The kind of people we are, the way we govern ourselves, the history we have made and the political philosophy we have given to the world, all consecrate us Americans as the advocates and preachers of liberty, democracy and national independence. And I believe that an independent Philippine republic will be the final result, as it would be the most glorious consummation, of our great educational work in the Philippines."

And Dr. Butler, at Albany, discussing "Fundamental Privileges of Education in the United States," pointed out very ably the distinction between the subordinate institution of the "state" and "government," arguing from this the possibility of a "national system of education," even though a large part of the educational institutions are under private rather than government control. With special reference to public schools as a proper charge upon the public revenues, he refuted the narrow view, more or less prevalent in some quarters, that education should only be paid for by those who receive it. On the contrary, says Dr. Butler:



"The schools which are maintained by governmental authority are established in the interest of the whole people, and because of the controlling conviction that an instructed and enlightened population is essential to the perpetuity of democratic institutions and to their effective operation. The schools are, therefore, a proper charge upon all taxpaying persons and property, and not merely upon those whose children receive instruction therein. Nor are they in any sense schools which are provided for the poor or the unfortunate."

**Admiral Dewey's Philippine Testimony** Admiral Dewey has given considerable testimony before the senate committee on the Philippines, in regard to his relations with the Filipino insurgents during and after the close of the Spanish war. He now declares that while Aguinaldo "did wonderfully in whipping the Spanish," he does not believe the Filipino leader was there for the purpose of securing independence, but on the contrary "was there for gain—for loot—for money." The admiral declares that he never recognized the Filipino government nor saluted the Filipino flag. He admits receiving on July 15th, 1898, Aguinaldo's first proclamation of Filipino independence, but does not remember seeing the paper forwarded by Consul-General Pratt on May 20th, 1898, only three weeks after the battle of Manila bay, in which Aguinaldo declared that the way had been opened, through their American liberators, for the independence of the Filipino people. Nevertheless, the admiral acknowledges that even before receiving the proclamation of July 15th he had begun to suspect that the natives "were thinking more of their own independence than of us." Neither does he deny that on July 7th, 1898, he turned over Spanish prisoners of war to Aguinaldo, thus virtually recognizing him as an ally, even though no formal alliance was ever made.

In reference to the capture of Manila, in which the Filipinos rendered such important aid, Admiral Dewey

declares that the city really surrendered to him in advance, on the day of the destruction of the Spanish fleet, and that the subsequent attack on the city in August was merely for the sake of allowing the Spanish governor to make a show of resistance. This statement has been characterized as a mistake by Gen. Thos. M. Anderson, in a signed letter to the *Chicago Record-Herald*. Gen. Anderson calls attention to the fact the American loss in that attack was 122 killed and wounded, and declares that, so far as concerns the second division of the 8th army corps, "its attack on the defence of Manila was not in the nature of an opera bouffe demonstration."

It is to be noted that Admiral Dewey's present testimony differs radically, in spirit at least, from that given by him four years ago, when he declared that, in his opinion, the Filipinos were more intelligent and better capable of self-government than the Cubans. It is a fair question whether his earlier impressions did not more accurately reflect the truth of the situation than the somewhat contradictory views now presented, especially when he now declares that he certainly did not imply then that he does not consider either people fit for self-government. However that may be, there has never been a time when the personality of Aguinaldo had any necessary or vital bearing upon the general proposition of Filipino independence. Even if Admiral Dewey's unfavorable account of the Filipino ex-leader be accepted in its latest form, the wisdom of shaping present policies towards ultimate independence is no more vitiated than Cuban independence is discredited by the revelations that liberal "pension" inducements turn out to have been extensively mixed up with Gen. Gomez's patriotism.

**Philippine  
Amnesty and  
Civil Government**

The recent proclamation of amnesty to all Philippine prisoners, and inauguration of a system of civil government in the islands, may be regarded as distinctly heading towards independence. The amnesty especially is an obvious concession to the growth of public sentiment in favor of more conciliatory policies. The proclamation offers:

"A full and complete pardon and amnesty to all persons in the Philippine archipelago who have participated in the insurrections aforesaid, or who have given aid and comfort to persons participating in said insurrections, for the offences of treason or sedition and for all offences political in their character committed in the course of such insurrections pursuant to orders issued by the civil or military insurrectionary authorities, or which grew out of internal political feuds or dissensions between Filipinos and Spaniards or the Spanish authorities, or which resulted from internal political feuds or dissensions among the Filipinos themselves during either of said insurrections."

This does not apply to persons who have committed crimes since May 1, 1902, in any province where civil government is established, nor to any persons who have previously been convicted of crimes non-political in their character. The pardon is conditioned, of course, upon the prisoners swearing allegiance to the United States government. This proclamation was issued on July 4th, and on the same day the Philippine commission was made the supreme authority in the islands, the military administration becoming subordinate. This new plan of civil government was adopted by congress on the closing day of the recent session, July 1st, and provides for a Filipino legislature, with two Filipino representatives in congress, the latter, of course, having no votes. One house of this legislature is to be the Philippine commission, and the other an assembly elected by the natives, but this is not to be organized until a census has been taken and general conditions of peace have been obtained for two years. In reality, therefore, this phase of self-government may not be established for a number of years to come.



In its final form, the new civil government measure provides strict limitations on the rights of corporations to hold mining and farm lands, establishes a homestead system for public lands, gives authority to issue bonds for certain public improvements, and also for the purchase of lands belonging to the friars. The questions of the money standard and banking system are postponed for the present, the only action taken being to provide for the issue of certain minor coins.

That the drift of all this is towards ultimate independence is indicated in a somewhat changed tone of press comment on the Philippine situation, and even in the president's Memorial day address, when he said of the Filipinos that "When they have thus shown their capacity for real freedom by their power of self-government, then, and not till then, will it be possible to decide whether they are to exist independently of us or be knit to us by ties of common friendship and interest."

**The Philippine  
Friars' Problem**

The vexed question of the status of the Roman Catholic friars in the Philippines has been in process of adjustment at Rome, thus far without result. Civil Governor Taft has spent several weeks in Rome discussing a basis of settlement with the Vatican, but future negotiations are to be conducted at Manila.

The friars were dispossessed at the time Spanish control in the Philippines came to an end, and their return to power would be intolerable to the Filipino people, even including the Catholic population. They hold, nevertheless, legal title to an immense property throughout the archipelago, and the proposition now under discussion relates to the purchase of these estates by the Philippine government. The main points of the American proposals were, in substance, as follows:

"First—Purchase of the lands of the friars, the price to be fixed by arbitration.

"Second—The arbiters to decide the indemnity which the Americans will pay for occupation of ecclesiastical buildings.

"Third—The above propositions absolutely conditional on the withdrawal of the friars.

"Fourth—If the other propositions are accepted, the Americans propose to give a deed or by law to grant a patent to ecclesiastical buildings an public land.

"Fifth—To settle by compromise or arbitration the several trusts for schools, hospitals, etc., claimed on the one hand by the civil, on the other by the church, authorities."

The answer of the Vatican to this proposition was submitted on July 5th, and makes numerous propositions for carrying out in detail the purchase of the friars' lands by the Philippine government, but apparently makes no reference to the withdrawal of the friars themselves. Secretary Root has instructed Governor Taft to adhere strictly to the requirements that the friars must absolutely withdraw, and it is at this point that the conferences at Rome have been terminated.

**The Proposed  
Anti-Trust Policy** Taking President Roosevelt's Fourth of July speech at Pittsburg as a basis, certain newspapers have concluded that the country may look for a strong anti-trust measure, backed by the administration, when congress meets in December. But a careful reading of the president's speech discovers scarcely a straw as a warrant for the journalistic wind now blowing so briskly. He referred to individual and corporate wealth, and declared that "when not used right then it becomes a serious menace and danger." The president, in referring to the problems growing out of our capitalistic conditions, said: "We may need, and, in my belief, we do need, new legislation conceived in no radical or revolutionary spirit, but in a spirit of common sense, common honesty, and a resolute desire to face facts as they are." Upon these declarations practically hang all of the anti-trust predictions.

Having taken it for granted that this anti-trust

policy is coming down the legislative road, the newspapers have selected Representative Littlefield of Maine to be the spokesman to introduce the supposed bill, and become its advocate on the floor of congress.

As an indication of the temper of the man who has been selected to be the president's trust smasher, it may be remembered that two years ago Mr. Littlefield was an anti-trust champion. He then advocated a constitutional amendment conferring upon congress the power to "define, regulate, control, prohibit or dissolve trusts, monopolies or combinations." This amendment also gave the several states the right to "exercise such power in any manner not in conflict with the laws of the United States." At the late session of congress Mr. Littlefield was the sponsor for an anti-trust bill, which did not receive very much consideration.

Papers like the New York *Evening Post*, Boston *Journal* and Cleveland *Leader*, the last two republican in politics, have presumed the anti-trust policy a foregone conclusion, and have given it vehement editorial endorsement. The democratic newspapers, in the main, have refused to believe that the president has any real intention of inaugurating an anti-trust policy. They contend that, in so far as the proposed movement means anything, it has been devised for campaign purposes, and will practically dematerialize after election.

#### The King's Illness

Edward VII., though still uncrowned, is a more popular monarch throughout the British empire to-day, and a more interesting figure to the world outside, than at any time since the beginning of his reign. Right on the eve of the coronation he was stricken down by an acute attack of appendicitis, an operation being performed on June 24th, and the entire pageant, in preparation for nearly a year and a half, had to be postponed. The only im-



portant features not postponed were the granting of certain royal honors and the feeding of some six hundred thousand of the London poor at the king's expense. The coronation is now planned to take place on August 9th, on the assumption, of course, that the king's health will by that time be practically restored.

King Edward is generally credited with a growing desire to make the personality of the throne more largely felt in the government. The settlement of the Boer war, for example, is largely attributed to his direct influence. If his ambitions are indeed reaching out beyond the limits Queen Victoria set upon herself, in extent of governing authority, it is probable that the sympathetic interest now centering around him will aid his purpose much better than the literal carrying out of the coronation plans could have done, however spectacular and impressive.

#### English Cabinet Changes

The Marquis of Salisbury resigned the premiership of Great Britain on July 11th. This step had been expected for some time, and it was supposed that the prime minister's official career would end at the time of King Edward's coronation. The reason for not extending it until that event actually occurs is, apparently, Lord Salisbury's rapidly failing health. A representative type of old school British conservatism, four times prime minister, his services to the British empire, especially in raising the prestige of British foreign policy, have been of signal and permanent value. For the last year or two, however, particularly with reference to the critical problems connected with the Boer war, his active share in the government has been diminishing, until of late the reins had passed very largely into other hands.

His nephew, the Right Honorable Arthur James Balfour, who succeeds him as premier, is not the strong-

est man in English public life, nor even the most influential in the unionist party, but the conservative spirit that traditionally dominates English public sentiment expresses itself again in the choice of Mr. Balfour, the "safe" man, instead of Joseph Chamberlain, the aggressive, policy-making, party leader. Mr. Chamberlain's personal strength in the government, however, has been largely increased by his graceful acceptance of the Balfour promotion and apparent surrender of all personal ambitions in that direction, since he is a considerably older man than the new premier. The Chamberlain influence has been even further strengthened by the retirement of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, chancellor of the exchequer, whose resignation almost immediately followed the accession of Mr. Balfour. Salisbury, Chamberlain and Hicks-Beach were conspicuously the three strong men in the British cabinet, and the present situation leaves Mr. Chamberlain the dominating force. To what extent he will be a harmonious factor in the new Balfour cabinet, whose make-up is already being actively discussed, only the future trend of English national issues and party alignments can determine.

*Dun's Review* shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities, averaged according to importance in per capita consumption, for July 1 and comparison with previous dates, as follows:

	Jan. 1, 1892	July 1, 1898	July 1, 1899	July 1, 1900	July 1, 1901	June 1, 1902	July 1, 1902
Breadstuffs . . .	\$17.700	\$12.783	\$13.483	\$14.898	\$14.904	\$19.241	\$20.534
Meats . . . . .	7.895	7.694	7.988	8.906	9.430	11.269	11.628
Dairy and garden	13.180	9.437	10.974	10.901	11.030	13.657	12.557
Other food . . .	9.185	8.826	9.157	9.482	9.086	8.744	8.748
Clothing . . . .	13.430	14.663	15.021	16.324	15.098	15.539	15.533
Metals . . . . .	14.665	11.843	15.635	14.834	15.344	15.903	16.084
Miscellaneous . .	13.767	12.522	12.969	16.070	16.617	16.815	16.826
Total . . . . .	\$89.822	\$77.768	\$85.227	\$91.415	\$91.509	\$101.168	\$101.910

Prices during June showed a slight advance, although May 1st last still remains the high water mark of all the quotations in Dun's index number summary as far back at least as 1888. There was a considerable advance in breadstuffs, almost entirely offset by a decline in dairy and garden products. The rest of the net advance for June was made up of slight increases in meats and metals, the other groups remaining almost stationary. There was little of special significance in the price movements of the month.

English prices of staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*, are as follows:

	July 5, 1901			June 6, 1902			July 4, 1902		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Steel rails (long ton, 2,240 lbs.) . .	5	10	0	5	10	0	5	10	0
Scotch pig iron (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	2	10	10	2	14	4	2	15	9
Copper ( " " )	68	2	6	54	7	6	53	10	0
Tin, Straits ( " " )	129	0	0	135	5	0	116	15	0
Lead, English pig ( " " )	12	12	6	11	10	0	11	8	9
Cotton, middling upland (lb.) . . .	0	0	4 $\frac{3}{8}$	0	0	5 $\frac{3}{8}$	0	0	5
Petroleum (gallon) . . . . .	0	0	5 $\frac{3}{8}$	0	0	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	6 $\frac{5}{8}$

(American equivalents of English money: pound — \$4.866; shilling — 24.3 cents; penny — 2.03 cents.)



## NEED OF A STRONG OPPOSITION PARTY

Under representative government, public opinion is converted into public policy by the consensus of political parties. These parties are representatives of the two opposing points of view on public questions. It is highly important, therefore, for the ability and integrity of discussion of great national issues, that the two parties be approximately equal, not merely in numerical strength, but in character, leadership, statecraft and intellectual ability. It is as true under representative institutions and democracy as it is under autocracy and aristocracy that unlimited power tends to indifference, irresponsibility, oppression and inefficiency. A party which is securely entrenched in power, with no adequate opposition, is not only likely, but almost sure, to degenerate into indifference to high principles, to lax political morals, high-handed arbitrary methods, and often into corruption and dishonesty. It is the experience of all countries that when the party in power is exceptionally strong, or the opposing party very weak, that the general political standard of public policy and administration is lowered.

In England the periods of great political movements and moral advance have always been when the opposition was virile and strong, and the administration was compelled to rise to the level of a high plane of public policy or give place to the opposition. The same has been true of all the great political movements in this country. Whenever the opposition was inferior and weak, the party in power lost its moral tone, dropped to a lower level of action and indulged in mischievous legislation. The fugitive slave law, with all of its monstrous provisions, was enacted when the whig party was in its dotage, and exercised little or no

power to check the acts of the democracy, nor is it believable that some of the legislative folly which characterized the reconstruction period following the war of the rebellion could have prevailed had the dominant party been met by a well-organized and forceful opposition.

Whenever a state or a city is overwhelmingly in the keeping of either political party, especially if the opposition is of inferior quality, the administration is indifferent, irresponsible and often corrupt and oppressive. Witness New York city: The majority in favor of Tammany for years had been so overwhelming that almost no regard for public interest, honesty and an efficient administration was observed. The opposition represented by the republican party was both morally and numerically so weak that Tammany had practically nothing to fear. To the degree that it felt safe, it adopted low standards, corrupt and dishonest methods, and made the administration an organized system of political debauchery and public plunder for private gain.

In Philadelphia, and indeed in Pennsylvania, a similar condition exists, with the parties reversed. The republican majority in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania is so overwhelming that the democratic party is impotent and exercises very little opposition to the administration; consequently we have a republican Tammany in Philadelphia similar in all its degrading aspects to the democratic Tammany in New York.

That similar conduct prevailed among the public officials in Philadelphia was demonstrated by the fact that a municipal franchise was given away, although John Wanamaker offered to pay two and one-half million dollars for it. The mayor not only refused his offer, but contemptuously threw it to the winds before a public meeting. In state affairs Quayism is scarcely

less powerful and insultingly autocratic. In the southern states a lack of public spirit and progressive policy is everywhere manifest, chiefly for the same reason. There the democratic party is so overwhelmingly strong, and the republican party so weak in numbers, and often so very inferior in ability, that it exercises no stimulating or competitive political power. Hence the party in power in most of these states feels no responsibility for its policy or conduct, and can indorse almost any economic or political heresy with impunity.

What is observable in all these instances is beginning to show itself in the national government. The administration party in congress is now suffering for the want of a wholesome opposition tonic. The effect of this is very largely to nullify active, wholesome public policy. This could not and would not occur if there was a strong, characterful opposition party in congress and the country. It is a political misfortune for the nation that the democratic party is essentially impotent for any practical purposes. With the election of Mr. Cleveland, in 1892, came an industrial disaster to the nation, and the disintegration and paralysis of the democratic party. This furnished both an incentive and an opportunity for the development of the wildest kind of economic and political vagaries. The enforced idleness and depression tended to feed and strengthen the socialistic sentiment in whatever form it appeared. Under this cyclone of national indignation against the destructive economic policy of the Cleveland administration, all the elements of disdain and disgust rallied under Mr. Bryan's leadership, and took possession of the framework and machinery of the democratic party, which Mr. Cleveland had brought into national disfavor and hopeless disintegration, and for the time being turned it into a populist party. This practically reduced the democratic party to a condition of political



chaos. It has no leaders in whom it has confidence; it has no ideas upon which it can unite; it has no policy around which it can rally even its old followers. It has lost all the vital power of a national political party, even for the purposes of wholesome opposition.

Mr. Cleveland has unlearned none of his heresies, and seems not to know that he is in national contempt, while Mr. Bryan has not discovered that the silver question is gone, that corporations have come to stay, and that he is a leader only in time of adversity. At the recent Tilden dinner, Mr. Cleveland thought he could become the rallying point of the scattered elements, but he reckoned without his host. Mr. Bryan soon conclusively showed that there can be no reorganization and consolidation of the democratic party under the leadership of either Cleveland or Hill. He then describes Cleveland as a "political wrecker," and charges Hill and Cleveland with not seeking harmony, but control. He condemns Cleveland's administration in unmeasured terms, and declares:

"He secured his nomination in 1892 by a secret bargain with the financiers. . . . He turned the treasury over to a Wall street syndicate, and the financial member of his official family went to Washington to become the private attorney of the man who forced (?) the treasury department to sell him government bonds at 105 and then resold them at 117. . . . His administration, instead of being a fountain of democracy sending forth pure and refreshing streams, became a stagnant pool from whose waters foul vapors arose, poisonous to those who lingered near. . . . And now, still gloating over his political crimes, he invites the party to return to him and apologize for the contempt which it has expressed for him! Will it? Not until the principles of Jefferson are forgotten and the works of Jackson cease to inspire. . . . The fight is on between a democracy that means democracy and a Clevelandism which means plutocracy. Every speech made by Mr. Cleveland shows more clearly the odiousness of the policies for which he stands. We have more to fear from those who, like Mr. Hill, indorse Mr. Cleveland's views, but conceal their real purpose in ambiguous language."

Col. Watterson, of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*,

for somewhat different reasons, declares war on Cleveland's leadership in no less emphatic terms. He says:

"Mr. Cleveland is an ill-tempered, self-willed man, having neither the intellectual training nor the moral and political inspiration for democratic fellowship or leadership. . . . He is personally an ingrate and a glutton; that because of his selfishness and his brutishness he alienated every democrat of consequence in congress who would not serve him blindly; that, in short, he found the party a noble unit and left it a wreck. Where he is best known he is most detested."

All this, whether entirely justified or not, unmistakably serves notice on the democratic party that there can be no successful reorganization under the leadership of either Cleveland or Hill, and it is no less manifest that the gold democrats in the East will not follow the leadership of Mr. Bryan. This makes the democratic party practically impotent for wholesome opposition, having neither leaders, principles nor policy upon which it can unite. This paralysis of the democratic party permits and even encourages the republican party to commit all kinds of folly with practical impunity.

We also have the spectacle of the republican party divided on at least two fundamental national questions, and the administration threatening to coalesce with a certain portion of the democrats who are without party responsibility. All this is demoralizing and tends to political degeneration. On the territorial policy the administration is so divided that it dare not definitely declare whether its policy is permanently to annex the Philippines on the same basis as Arizona, New Mexico and Hawaii, putting them directly in line for statehood, or whether it intends to aid in the establishment of civil government, leading to political independence on similar terms granted to Cuba.

On the vital question in national policy, which has been the foundation principle of the republican party, the administration is also woefully uncertain. With a disregard for the constantly expressed doctrine of the

party, the administration has literally broken loose from the party moorings on the Cuban tariff question. This break is not measured by a 20 per cent. reduction of the duty on Cuban sugar. It has created a rupture in the ranks of the party on the question of protection, which has practically forced an issue between protection and so-called reciprocity, and for the first time in our history, government officials have used the public funds for the purposes of factional party propaganda. This is a lamentable lowering of the moral tone of political administration, and could never have occurred if there had existed in congress a strong, wholesome, dignified opposition party, to call the administration to account for such misuse of power.

But the end of this is not yet. As one lie usually needs another to protect it, so loose political conduct and party division beget lax political morality and a dulled sense of political responsibility. In the absence of an organized power to punish political wrongdoing, whether it be a blunder in policy or an abuse of power, public opinion assumes an aspect of indifference. "What can you do about it?" is the question asked with an increasing air of indifference, which grows into despair, and finally into disgust, of public officials, and even the institutions themselves. This is not altogether because the public mind is insensible to what is going on, but rather because of the lack of organized power to correct it. When the Tammany administration in New York city was at its very worst the people seemed to be most indifferent. It was not until, in the spirit of party revolution, a movement began on entirely new lines that the public conscience seemed to find an expression; but when the possibility of an organized corrective power appeared the whole community arose to the rescue, and a new era began.

The conflict, confusion, and almost chaos now pre-



vailing in national politics bid fair to make a similar remedy necessary. If this continues very much longer, the administration will be without any real power of leadership, and guerilla politics will take the place of responsible party action; personal interest will be substituted for public principle; those who are injured through tariff cuts in one place will conspire with the enemies of protection to cut the tariff in others. If the manufacturers of the East destroy the protection of sugar and other industries in the South and West, the people of those sections will join with anti-protectionists to apply the same knifing to eastern manufactures.

If protection ceases to be a national policy, the manufacturing industries of the East have no moral or political claim upon the support of the non-protection sections of the country, and there is no risk in predicting that they would not get it. When protection is changed from a national policy to a "local issue," it ceases to have any general political status.

All this leads to a disturbance of confidence on the part of the financial and business interests of the country in the stability of the protective policy and therefore in protected industries. This is the first step towards a business disturbance, and when the confidence-destroying forces in business begin to work, there is no telling where they will end. The outlook in this direction is not very reassuring. The hope of having a strong, sound, dignified, characterful opposition party is, to say the least, quite remote.

The responsibility, therefore, is with the republican party, which has full control of the administrative and legislative machinery of the nation. Has it sufficient unity of conviction, regard for political principle and characterful leadership to be equal to the situation?

## MACHINERY AND LABOR\*

HENRY WHITE

This subject is one which involves the whole industrial problem. It is the complexity of conditions, due to the introduction of machinery, which has caused the wide differences of opinion upon the question of the division of wealth. Under the simpler methods of industry the manner in which the proceeds of labor were distributed was readily understood; to-day, however, the system is so highly organized that there is much confusion as to its operations. The perplexity is so great that there are many who see in labor-saving inventions some malign purpose, and others who, discerning that any means which enhances the productiveness of labor must benefit mankind, do not comprehend the manner by which that result is effected. It is the habit of judging the operations of so complex a system by the effect upon certain interests, instead of viewing it as a whole, which accounts for the common misconceptions regarding the service rendered by machinery to society.

If people were to consider how meagre would be the rewards of toil without machinery, how costly the necessities of life, its value would soon become apparent. The confusion is increased by the dual relations which a person occupies as a producer and as a consumer. As a consumer, he benefits almost at once by every saving in effort, while as a producer his means of a livelihood may, in consequence, be threatened. The laborers thrown out of work by a machine, or even the merchant forced out of business through some combination, cannot be expected to appreciate the beneficence

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of such economy. In both cases their horizon is limited to their own means of a livelihood.

When a person finds his occupation suddenly gone, it outweighs all other considerations and, unmindful of the benefits he may have derived from similar economies in other trades, inventions to him seem a curse. The rewards of the particular invention which distresses him go to the body of consumers and he only shares indirectly as one of them. In the case of the wage worker, the gain is not evident, as it is with the manufacturer who first utilizes an invention.

It is regrettable that even the temporary disadvantages of industrial progress should fall heavily upon some to the advantage of others, but it is as unavoidable as friction is to motion. The suffering can be mitigated only in proportion as our knowledge of the methods of industry increases, by recognizing the inevitableness of the changes and preparing to meet them.

Economic laws, like the laws of nature, admit of no exceptions. Were discrimination possible, the consequences would make the present hardships seem nothing in comparison; in fact, society would quickly disintegrate and revert to its primitive state. If society had to wait for the sanction of every person before a forward step could be taken, it would never start. In the process of adjustment and readjustment, which progress implies, it is unavoidable that some have to be forced out of settled grooves and made to fit into new ones. It is this adaptability to change which characterizes modern enterprise—this willingness to suffer immediate discomforts for the achievement of larger ends.

The confusion concerning the service rendered by machinery is not strange, considering the absurd notions which are rife concerning the elementary principles of political economy. No distinction is usually made in the popular mind between useful and useless labor.



There is supposed to be only a given amount of work to be done, and hence the inference that the less each one does the more jobs there will be to go around. If wealth be wasted or destroyed, it will in some mysterious manner be replaced. The destruction of property by fire or flood is regarded with complacency by those not directly affected, upon the supposition that more work is thereby provided, without taking into account that the wealth required to replace it must be diverted from some productive use. The spending or circulating of money is equivalent to creating wealth. Luxury is looked upon with more favor than frugality, and it is even thought that gambling benefits a community as much as industry, because the fortunate ones spend freely, and the misery which it begets is lost sight of in contemplation of the profits of a few. With such erroneous ideas, entertained even by educated people, it is apparent why the complex operations of our industrial system are so slightly understood. The expansion of industry which follows labor-saving devices, the creation of new industries and the consequent replacing of those displaced is unintelligible to all save the few who comprehend economic principles.

In addition to the popular misconception of the subject, there are historic causes which have created this antipathy to machinery. During the transition from the domestic to the factory system in England, machinery became a club to subjugate the laborer. Untutored, unorganized, without any resisting power, the former independent artisan, now a factory hand, was placed in brutal competition with his fellows, and every invention only added to his helplessness. The plight of the English laborers at that time abundantly shows that there are circumstances in which the wealth of a nation may increase tremendously, the productive power of labor multiply many fold, while the workers, on the other

hand, become impoverished and brutalized. Mill was of the opinion that machinery had not benefited the working class, but, happily, since the time in which he wrote education and organization, two indispensable factors in their advancement, have come to their aid. An upward trend has, in consequence, taken place, and the stimulus which it has given will make a relapse, owing to the advance in sanitary science, as impossible as another visitation of a plague. Where the workers have succeeded in acquiring some independence in raising their standard of living, machinery, despite the drawbacks described, has undoubtedly become a potent factor in the elevation of their class.

Under a collective system, the immediate benefits which would be derived by each individual through labor saving inventions is its chief merit, but to compare the good features of an imaginary social system with the disadvantages of the existing one is an easy task. It can, however, be shown that this desired co-operative principle actually obtains at the present time in a rough way by the distribution of the benefits of inventions throughout society, and that there are possibilities for its more perfect application.

As to the worker's share in production, Karl Marx, in his incisive analysis, comes to the conclusion that the value of commodities is based upon the labor cost plus the profits of the capitalist. In that he is in accord with the authorities upon social science since Adam Smith. He deduces from that that labor alone represents the actual wealth which is exploited for profit by the capitalist and that the very capital invested was previously appropriated from the laborer. Granting this conclusion, Marx should have made allowance for the competition between capitalists by which the price of commodities is kept within certain limits and the benefits of cheaper production are given

to the consumer. In the cases Marx deals with, cheaper production unfortunately did not only mean more economical methods, but lower wages and long hours and the sacrifice of the worker, while the consumer represented some one else than the operative, who barely subsisted on his pittance. Without the ability to purchase the goods he produced, England had to dispose of in foreign markets that which should have been consumed at home, always the best market. Her chief dependence being upon outside markets, everything had to be subordinated to cheaper production, no matter how obtained.

Concerning the attitude of trades unions upon the question of machinery, the membership being composed of men with the usual abilities, their views do not materially differ from others. Having, however, the benefit of an education derived from a close study of economic problems and an experience which has helped them to form broader opinions, they are gradually reconciling themselves to machinery; as, for example, the action taken at the late convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Scranton. In a resolution introduced by the delegates of the Cigar Makers' International Union requesting that a certain firm be declared unfair, there was reference to a cigar-making machine used in the shop of this employer. Although the machine was mentioned as an evidence only of the inferiority of the product of the concern, a vigorous objection was at once raised by the delegates against any mention of the use of machinery by the firm. In the debate which followed it was argued that the convention could not afford to go on record as against labor-saving devices, and that any attempt to oppose them would prove futile. The objectionable words were stricken out by a decisive vote. As to what action the convention would have taken had the delegates thought



it possible to suppress the machine is a question. The decision of the convention, however, has brought the movement to a point in which the members will be enabled to take a more liberal and complete view of the subject, and realize that the limitation of work is not only impolitic, but that by increasing their capacities, the opportunity is afforded for them to insist upon a fair share in the larger product.

The typographical union is a notable example of a union which has accepted a revolutionizing invention as being inevitable, and thus succeeded in securing a rate of wages for the operators considerably in excess of that received by the hand compositors. An officer of the New York union estimates that each linotype machine introduced into the newspaper offices displaced three men and that within three years, owing to the increase in the size of the newspapers and the larger demand for printed matter which it encouraged, the men laid off have been re-employed, and that to-day the pay rolls even exceed the former figure. This machine has also had the effect of elevating the standards of the craft, owing to the higher skill and education required. The competition among the employers is such that profits are reduced to a minimum, the public therefore receiving the full benefit of the improvement.

In the building trades similar results are also noted. Improved methods have led to a prodigious expansion in building operations. The laborious work is now largely done by mechanical means and parts of a structure, such as the trimmings, are made in factories, and are only fitted together upon the premises. The subdividing of the work is carried on to such an extent that a number of contractors, each performing a distinct function, cooperate in the completion of a single building. When this specializing began and the ingenious hod-hoisting device made it unnecessary for men to

make beasts of burden of themselves, a general alarm was created over the prospect of great numbers of workmen being thrown out of employment. To-day a far greater number of men are steadily employed in this fundamental industry than at any time in its history.

The lowering of the cost of commodities enables the average person to indulge in what were formerly considered luxuries, and which encourage the development of new industries. The tendency under the influence of machinery is for industry to spread out fan shape, ever widening as the distance from the starting point increases. Were it not for the limitations set by the purchasing capacity of the people and the periodical disarrangements or panics which occur as a result of what is conveniently termed over-production, there would be no check. To fear a surfeit of wealth seems absurd considering the needs of the average person. What is meant by over-production is the inability to buy what has been produced.

Russia, with her immense population, is unable to consume the products of her few mills, while in the United States, where the efficiency of labor is higher than anywhere else and is being increased at a marvelous rate, not to speak of the half million aliens absorbed every year, the percentage of unemployed is lower than it has been for years, and even less than during the earlier part of our history, when manufacturing was in its infancy.

To increase the purchasing capacity of the people, either by higher wages or cheaper products is to reduce the surplus and maintain the equilibrium, hence the economic value of higher standards of living. Production cannot be greater than the ability of the average person to consume, any more than water can rise higher than its source, therefore increased production must be accompanied by the same increase in consumption if

normal conditions are to be maintained. No matter to what extent machinery, division of labor, or economy in management may be perfected, theoretically, the demand for labor ought not to diminish.

The eight-hour work day is advocated by many, not because of the personal benefit to the workman, but upon the same grounds that they would favor the curtailment of production, in the belief that it would increase the number employed. By decreasing the average amount of work done in order that it may be distributed more evenly, may accomplish that object temporarily, but if generally practiced would decrease the demand for work through the increase in the price of the commodity.

It is doubtful, besides, if workmen in a particular craft have ever succeeded for a length of time in erecting a wall around themselves and preventing as many extra men as could be employed from getting in if the emoluments were sufficient. So even if it were possible to so restrict work as to create a scarcity of workmen this pressure from without would prove irresistible and the normal level would be maintained. If, on the contrary, a lack of work would make a number of workmen superfluous, there would be a tendency for them to find their way into growing occupations. Union regulations, such as apprenticeship rules, can and do prevent undue crowding into a trade owing to a sudden and temporary demand, which would prove highly injurious unless checked, for it would serve to break down standards upheld by the union. Through such means an assimilation of those entering the trade is gradually accomplished.

Unions have been frequently charged with trying to restrict output. The same accusation has also, with equal effect, been made against industrial combinations for seeking to create artificial scarcity. In many cases



where unions endeavor to prevent rush or driving work, injurious to the worker, they have been accused of limiting work. Such restrictions can be easily defended. That labor organizations have in some instances attempted to prevent the use of labor-saving appliances there can be no question, considering the prevailing ideas on the subject, and organized workmen can give force to their opposition, but that such is the policy of the labor movement is far from the fact, as I have just illustrated. The opposition to labor-saving methods is not confined to workmen alone, for employers will rail against competitors able to give better service for less cost. The same resentment at being forced out of a settled occupation is entertained by all.

The actual injury done by machinery is caused by the suddenness of the changes. Since there could be no way of regulating inventive genius, and the incentives for using improvements will remain as strong, the rational and the only way to meet them is by preparation. The working class suffers most because it is less able to accomodate itself to new situations. The rising generation should be better equipped with a general knowledge of mechanics, and taught how to handle tools with skill. Such a training would undoubtedly relieve the difficulty and it could only be adequately supplied by the public schools. The results would be to increase the independence of workmen, as they would not then rely upon a small division of a trade or upon a single employer. Independence and higher wages go together.

In the case of the aged workman the situation is especially hard, as he cannot find any place in an industrial system in which alertness counts for more than skill. He cannot profit by accumulated experience as others do. It is the tragic side of the question, this grievous predicament of the worker who has spent his energies adding to the nation's wealth. It can and

ought to be overcome, not by any system of alms-giving, which must always prove inadequate, not by retiring him to idleness, but by keeping him employed at such work which his long training and peculiar abilities fitted him for. As his earning power declines at a certain period, some system of insurance could supply the deficiency. The plan proposed by George Gunton looks feasible.

As to the material advantages of machinery, it surely has enlarged the capacities of the people and multiplied their opportunities. The possibilities are such as to make the mind tremble in anticipation. It is the agency which alone can raise wages, reduce the working time and enhance the buying power of money—a three-fold gain. There is, however, notwithstanding these benefits, another and yet withal a more important side. Has it advanced the worker as a man? Has it increased his independence? Has it improved his social standing? These are the questions which demand an answer, and unless it can be given emphatically in the affirmative, then the prodigious increase in wealth production has been without result.

The feeling against machinery will not cease until the workman profits directly as a consumer, until he is treated as a human being and not as a mere animated tool, until he becomes more than a tender, an incident in production. The human element always wanting must become more evident and the toilers made to feel their partnership. Then the true mission of machinery will be revealed to all as the only means which can liberate man from drudgery, increase his control over nature and provide the leisure essential to a higher culture.

## “LET US FACE THE TRUTH”

Under this bold and virtuous title, the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* devotes a leading editorial to saying many bad things about GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. GUNTON'S is guilty of many sins, but in this instance the principal offence was an article reviewing the facts in the Cuban sugar controversy and criticising the conduct of Secretary Root and Gen. Wood for taking funds from the public treasury for party political purposes. In its righteous wrath the *Inter-Ocean* thus delivers itself:

“The current issue of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE contains a six page editorial onslaught upon the secretary of war, culminating in the demand that the president instantly remove Mr. Root from office as a traitor to protection, under penalty of being deemed an abettor of his treason.

“‘On protection,’ says the magazine, ‘Elihu Root has always been a half-hearted weakling.’ ‘In dealing with Cuba,’ it adds, ‘Mr. Root's anti-protection influence in the administration has been conspicuous. In this he easily commanded the support of General Wood, his subordinate, and equally indifferent to the policy of protection.’

“Governor Wood's and Secretary Root's insistence upon reciprocity for Cuba is then described as merely ‘a campaign for free sugar.’ ‘This, of course,’ adds the editor, ‘elicited the praise and support of the pronounced free-trade journals of the country. As the contest advanced, the free-trade forces lined up stronger and stronger behind Messrs. Wood, Root and Havemeyer. The president, under their influence, finally took sides against the protectionist party.’

“For impudence, impertinence, sophistry and fallacy, these remarks certainly are unsurpassed in the literature of Cuban reciprocity.”

It must have been warm in Chicago about the 8th of July, else so much heat with so little light could never have emanated from a single source; but it is often easier to use expletives and call names than to furnish facts and prove propositions. It was deemed advisable to reprint this, if only to furnish a specimen of what a great daily can do in the way of firework's argument when it has “an issue” to champion. But “let us face the truth,” for while that may be a little unpleasant, it is always a moral tonic.



The *Inter-Ocean* began by saying that GUNTON's demanded "that the president instantly remove Mr. Root from office as a traitor to protection, under penalty of being deemed as an abettor of his treason." To be strictly parliamentary, our contemporary is mistaken. Nothing was said in GUNTON's suggesting the resignation of Mr. Root for his views on protection, but for his misuse of public funds for party campaign purposes. What we said was:

"Of course it is not supposed that President Roosevelt authorized either Wood's misuse of the public funds for political purposes in this tariff warfare, or his purchasing of Gen. Gomez's political influence in Cuba, but the facts remain. It is for the president to say whether he will stand for that and the methods such acts represent, or will do the only other thing left, ask Mr. Root to resign."

Is it not true that the opponents of tariff reduction were willing to afford all the relief asked for Cuba by other methods, like rebate? Is it not true that the Root and Wood policy has elicited the praise of the enemies of protection? Is it not true "that the free-trade forces have lined up, stronger and stronger, behind Messrs. Root, Wood and Havemeyer" for a tariff war? Is it not true that Gen. Wood paid large sums of money out of the Cuban treasury for the political influence of Gen. Gomez? Is it not true that he also used the public funds to subsidize the *Havana Post*, furnish campaign literature and lobby service in this country? Instead of throwing light on some of these things the *Inter-Ocean* simply calls it "impudence," "impertinence," "sophistry" and "fallacy," as if such screeching proves anything but bad manners.

While the subject is up we may as well ask the *Inter-Ocean* to "face the truth" a little further. In its issue of July 1st, under the title. "Cuba's Impending Ruin," it devoted its leading editorial to showing how Cuban planters were losing money on every pound

of sugar they produced, in proof of which it presented the following:

"The *Diario de la Marina* of Havana demonstrates in figures the ruin with which Cuba's chief industry is now threatened. The figures are taken from the books of a leading planter. They set forth, therefore, an actual and recent transaction.

"This planter had 10,000 bags, or 3,200,000 pounds, of sugar of such high grade that he was able to get for it 10 cents a bag above the current New York price. Yet, having no other market, he was obliged to sell his crop at a net loss of over 68 cents a bag. His expenditures and receipts were as follows:

"Actual cost of production and transportation to Havana, per bag, \$4.3123; freight, insurance, brokerage, etc., Havana to New York, per bag, 68 cents; duty, per bag, \$5.392; total cost delivered to refinery, per bag, \$10.3843; received from refinery, per bag, \$9.70; net loss to planter, per bag, 68.43 cents.

"In other words, for sugar that cost him \$103,843 to produce and get to market the planter received but \$97,000. With no allowance whatever for local taxes, interest on capital and depreciation of plant, his net loss on his year's work was \$6,843. No business man needs to be told that to attempt to do business under such conditions is simple ruin."

This statement is essentially false, because it is founded upon a bold misstatement regarding the price at which sugar was sold, and for this there can be no excuse for the editor of a great newspaper, since the market price of sugar is a matter of daily publication.

It will be noted that this planter, who is said to have lost \$6,843 on his crop, produced ten thousand bags, containing an aggregate of 3,200,00 pounds of sugar, which would be 320 pounds per bag. If, as the *Inter-Ocean* says, "the planter received from the refinery, per bag, \$9.70," that would be exactly three cents a pound plus ten cents a bag. But the market price for this grade of sugar has not been as low as three cents a pound for nearly six years; the lowest point it has touched since October, 1896, is  $3\frac{5}{16}$  cents a pound. For 1897, the price of 96° centrifugal sugar averaged 3.557; in 1898, 4.235; in 1899, 4.419; in 1900, 4.566; in 1901, 4.047; down to June 26, 1902, 3.50; and the average

for June was 3.41. So the simple truth is that there was no price at which sugar has been quoted since 1896 at which this planter would have had any loss at all. On the contrary, at the lowest price it has touched during this period, he would have received 90 cents a bag, or \$9,000 more than the price given by the *Inter-Ocean*. Therefore, instead of losing \$6,843, he would have made, at the very least, \$2,157; but, if he sold it at the average price which prevailed during the month of June (the time this statement was made), he had a net profit of \$5,277. If he had sold it at a price equal to the average from January to July, this year, he would have made a net profit of over \$8,000.

But there is another form of misrepresentation in this statement: In estimating the cost of producing this sugar, the *Inter-Ocean* adds the duty, which, on the ten thousand bags, it puts at \$53,920; but the planter never paid this; all the planter invested in this output was the cost of raising the sugar and delivering it in New York. The purchaser paid the duty. The \$53,920 is a part of the cost of the sugar to the public, but it is not part of the expense of the planter. He delivers it in bond, and the purchaser pays the duty when it is taken out; so that, properly speaking, the planter's investment in this ten thousand bags of sugar is not \$103,843, but only \$49,923. The additional \$53,920 is paid, but it is paid by the refiner to the government, and not by the planter at all in marketing 96° centrifugal sugar. Then, at the very lowest price at which this planter could have sold his sugar, if he had sold at the most inopportune moment, he would have made a net profit of 4.32 per cent. At the average price which prevailed in June, 1902, he would have made a net profit on his investment of 10.5 per cent.; at the average price for the six months of this year, he would have made 16 per cent. on his investment.



The *Inter-Ocean* may have been misled by the facts furnished from Havana, but only reckless zeal and indifference to accuracy can explain its falsification of the market price of sugar. Justice to its readers and its own reputation demand that the *Inter-Ocean* at once "face the truth," and begin to tell it.

But we might as well "face the truth" on this matter a little further while we are about it. This jumble of lies (for that is what it is), presented editorially by the *Inter-Ocean*, is really no work of its own; it is simply parroting a story that has been going the rounds in other papers, and the *Inter-Ocean* just swallowed it whole, without the slightest investigation of its truth, or concern for its moral influence, suffice that it seemed to make out that the Cuban planters were being ruined, and so contribute to a campaign cry. This story appeared in the *New York Sun* of June 30th; it was taken up and reprinted in an hysterical editorial by the *New York Times* the next day, and also received recapitulation and sympathy in over a column editorial in the *Boston Herald*. The *Inter-Ocean's* account differs from that of the *New York Sun* and *Times* and *Boston Herald* only in the fact that by a different use of the figures it makes the planter lose \$6,843 on his output, while the other three make him lose \$7,500.

Nor is it any mitigation of the *Inter-Ocean's* offence that the *New York Sun* and *Times* and *Boston Herald* committed the same sin against truthful statement and decent journalism, in order to bolster a political fad. Moreover, so far as we know, not one of these papers has attempted to correct the lie they all boosted along with the "moral" influence of editorial endorsement.

In view of such bold perversion of common facts, in the name of "moral propaganda," the American people may very properly doubt the genuineness of the

plaints about ruined and starving Cuba, at least to the extent of requesting proof to justify the claim.

As a nation, the American people are generous beyond all comparison. They have done in the case of Cuba what never before was done by one nation for another. Never before was a nation known to furnish men, money and ships to help another nation to secure political independence, without reward, or even reimbursement, for either blood or treasure expended. Before consenting, therefore, to change our fiscal policy, in order to make up the deficits of Cuban industries from the public revenues of the United States, the people have a right at least to be honestly informed, first, as to the facts, and second, of the moral or political principle upon which such demand is based. First, then, as to the facts: Is it true, as constantly asserted in the big head-lines of the daily press, that business is being ruined in Cuba and the Cuban people are on the verge of starvation? No mere sentimental statement by Gen. Wood or Secretary Root, or inspired editorials in the daily papers, should be accepted as an adequate answer to this question. We have seen that inspired editors cannot be trusted. The people want the facts. There are certain economic and social symptoms of business ruin and general starvation which no amount of official statement or manufactured sentiment can suppress or obscure. The infallible symptoms of business ruin, and exceptional physical and social hardships in the community, are deserted industries, enforced idleness, pauperism, increased sickness and higher death rate.

Thus far none of these symptoms have been known to exist in Cuba. Enforced idleness has not increased, but the demand for labor this year has been greater than for many years, due to the nearly doubled production of sugar. In proof of this, steps have been

taken to encourage the immigration of laborers from the Canaries, Porto Rico and Spain. Wages have not fallen, but, according to the planters' own testimony before the industrial commission, they have risen. Indeed, the higher price of labor was assigned as one of the reasons for the diminished profits. Nor is there any reliable evidence that sickness, charity or the death rate in Cuba have increased. If any of these had occurred the facts would have been set forth in convincing form.

When famines occurred in India and in the Weyler concentrado camps in Cuba, we had abundant evidence of the famished condition of the people. Press correspondents photographed the skeleton forms, with their bloated abdomens and other revolting symptoms of starvation; but nothing of the kind is coming from Cuba now. Why? The answer is obvious. All the available evidence tends to show that the people of Cuba are not starving, that Cuba is not worse off than formerly, but, on the contrary, is much better off than for many years. One fact, however, is apparent, viz.: that the Cuban planters, who heretofore have been a sort of landed aristocracy, many of them millionaires, are not making as big profits as formerly, but are being reduced more nearly to an economic basis. The laborers have been practically slaves, living under a quasi-feudal system.

Two things have occurred which have tended to diminish the previously exorbitant profits of sugar planters. One is the increased demand for labor and a greater spirit of freedom among the laborers in Cuba, with a diminished supply as a result of the war, and the other a decline in the price of sugar, due to the development of beet sugar culture in Europe and this country.

For four years following December, 1897, the price



of sugar was over four cents a pound, sometimes nearly five. The cost of labor then was even less than now, and the duty was the same. Under these prices their profits were simply opulent. During the last year (since August 22d, 1901), the price of sugar has been below four cents, but as we have already seen, it has never gone below the profit point, but has averaged for the last twelve months a price that would yield a profit on the actual investment of about 20 per cent. It is quite clear, therefore, so far as any available verified facts show, that the only hardship experienced in Cuba is a diminished profit of the sugar planters, but that this is accompanied by increased employment and wages, and material welfare among the masses, and a greater aggregate production. It seems to be for the planters something of a transition from an opulent, lazy, semi-feudal system, to a more legitimate, economic, industrial condition, where the laborers get a little larger and the land-owners a little smaller share of the products, and modern methods instead of feudal authority are becoming necessary to successful industry.

If there really is a genuine side to the semi-hysterical plea for Cuba, it has not been revealed by any verified facts, but the agitation regarding this matter has done much to disturb public opinion, and has nearly caused a rupture between the administration and congress. All this is very bad—bad for business, and bad for the nation; but whether for better or for worse, the Cuban situation will now have to wait until the next session of congress.

This will afford an opportunity for testing the validity of these heart-rending statements about Cuba. If half that has been told is true, we may expect to see during the summer months bankruptcy among pro-

ducers, starvation among laborers, and the concomitant social hardships everywhere in the island.

If the president would appoint some one, or better still, a commission of three persons who know economic facts when they see them, and who have no theories to support or policies to defend, and who are familiar with sound methods of industrial investigation, and send such commission to Cuba thoroughly to sift the industrial situation, some reliable information on this subject might be obtained. At any rate, President Roosevelt, who, above all, desires and needs the truth, should not be the victim of sympathy or sentiment or personal pride from any quarter.

When in the possession of such information, if the president found his position was not justified by the facts, he has the courage and the manliness to change front. Indeed, that is one of his strongest characteristics. On the other hand, if with the full knowledge of the situation thus ascertained, the president found that his position was justified by the facts, and he laid those facts before the people, he would be many-fold stronger with the nation. Under those conditions the people would believe and support him.

But in the present state of facts, there is every reason for the American people to believe that the president is the victim of misinformation, than which nothing can more effectively destroy his influence with congress and the confidence of the nation in his leadership.

## COTTON MANUFACTURING IN THE NORTH AND SOUTH

HENRY G. KITTREDGE

The twelfth census presents some very interesting facts regarding the status and progress of the cotton manufacturing industry, North and South, within the decade of 1890 to 1900. It is a revelation to those who have followed intently the phenomenal growth of the industry in the South, especially in the Piedmont section of the south Atlantic states, without giving the same amount of attention to what has been going on at the same time in the state of Massachusetts.

The South has exceeded all the early prognostications that were made concerning the position she was to occupy at the end of the nineteenth century as a cotton manufacturing community, not only in her relation to the North, but to the world. Her position was undefined and tentative in the early eighties, and experienced manufacturers—those brought up with New England mill training—regarded her efforts more in the light of local hopefulness and buoyancy than in anything that had a substantial existence. Her mills were showing large and unusual profits on the amount of investment, but this was looked upon as untrustworthy and as an evidence of defective book-keeping, in which the item of depreciation was not properly considered in the cost of production. It was some time before there was a full realization of the advantages possessed by the South for the manufacture of cotton, not only because of her nearness to the cotton fields and to an excellent supply of capable white people upon whom dependence could be placed to furnish her mills with operatives, but also because of her salubrious climate



and proximity to coal mines from which to obtain an abundance of fuel for power.

When the census of 1890 was taken the South had asserted her claims as a great cotton manufacturing section of the United States, equal in every essential respect to the claims that could be set up in behalf of any other part of the country. Some alarm was felt in the North that southern competition would become so strong and assertive as to endanger the stability and future prospects of the cotton industry in that section. Northern capital was being invested in the construction and equipment of factories in the Piedmont section. Machine shops felt no hesitancy in supplying all the necessary machinery and tools, and even sought the patronage, taking a large portion of the capital shares in partial payment of the cost. Doubt gave way to the assurance that the South afforded natural opportunities for the successful prosecution of cotton manufacturing on an almost unlimited scale, with fewer impediments than those with which the industry had to contend in the North.

No doubt these conditions were potent in checking the extension of cotton manufacturing in the northern states as a whole, and in causing investors of capital in this industry to pause over the situation in contemplation of the advisability of changing the character of the goods made to that of a higher order, in which the competition should be less, and more consistent with the skill and proficiency of mill operatives, whose adeptness is the consequence of long experience under careful and exact training. Thus, we find that, at the beginning of the 1890-1900 decade, southern cotton manufacturing was on the high road of animated progression, while that in the North was in a state of transition from the poorer or coarser to the better or finer class of goods. The transition was naturally slow and

expensive, involving a cost that seriously interfered with profits and dividends; and, though it was near a state of completion at the end of the decade, it was not fully so, and even to-day it is in progress. But the extreme tension in competition is now very greatly relaxed, and northern cotton spinners are pursuing their new mission in the manufacture of goods requiring selected cotton of long, even and fine staple for a high class of production adapted to the demands of the well-to-do American consumer.

The most conspicuous evidence we have of the advance that has been made of late years in northern cotton manufactures, and of their great excellence, is in the superior character of their typical exhibits at the Paris exposition of 1900, where they received the highest honors that were awarded. This recognition of the merits of American goods, in competition with the best manufacturers of the world, was by no means unexpected by those who were familiar with them, but to the European, as well as to the great mass of Americans, they were a revelation, stimulating to a limited but promising extent a foreign demand for fabrics in which quality, design and coloring are appreciated.

The manufacture of the coarser class of fabrics has been relegated to the South, so far as the North is concerned. It is conceded that, under existing conditions of hours of labor and wages, the North cannot well compete with the South in the production of coarse goods, especially those peculiarly adapted to the foreign trade in the Orient and with the Latin-American countries. But the South has been working upward in the quality of her product, encroaching to that extent upon the industrial domain of the North, as she has come to a realization that her mills are competing with one another to their detriment, in confining their products to the same class of plain goods. This has had a

wholesome effect in restraining an impetuous spirit on the part of the people, capitalists and municipalities to build cotton factories for the sake of having them in their midst, without much thought of their fitness for a production needed by the trade. The consequence is that many of the mills that have recently been constructed and projected in the South are for a finer grade of goods, requiring, in a few conspicuous instances, the long stapled cotton of the Mississippi river valley and the imported Egyptian cotton of the better sort, for which not only the best and peculiarly constructed machinery, but well-trained operatives under experienced superintendency must be had.

There is a very mistaken notion among many people who have taken a seeming interest in the relative progress in cotton manufacturing, North and South, that the former section has been non-progressive, while the latter section has been advancing with tremendous strides, and that the concentration of the industry is destined to be south rather than north of the Mason and Dixon line. What the case will be at some indefinite time in the future, it would be hazardous to predict; at the present time there is, certainly, no substantial evidence of anything of this kind likely to happen within the life of the existing generation of mankind.

While this is speaking generally, there were some very singular incidents in the cotton manufacturing industry of the North, during the 1890-1900 decade, that are difficult to satisfactorily account for. Now, while it is true that all of the advance in the cotton industry has not been in the South during this decade, and that a very large portion of it has been in the North, it is singular and none the less a fact that what gain the latter section has made has been made almost wholly in the state of Massachusetts; the very state that has done more than any other in sending money, machinery and



brains to the South for building up the cotton manufacturing industry in that section upon a practical basis for success.

The number of cotton spindles in the United States in 1890, was 14,088,103, and, in 1900, the number was 19,008,352, showing an increase of 4,920,249 in ten years. About 56 per cent. of this increase was in the South and 44 per cent. in the North, showing that a large portion of the increase was in the latter section. It will be seen that the northern section made a very considerable gain, much more than many have been led to believe. But the singular thing about this gain in the North is that over 90 per cent. of it was in Massachusetts alone. About 83 per cent. of the southern gain was in the states of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

To put it in another form, the South gained, during the 1890-1900 decade, 2,747,839 cotton spindles, of which 2,264,304 were in the above three states, while the North gained 2,172,410, of which 1,960,169 were in Massachusetts alone. Two or three more mills of the size that are now being erected in Massachusetts would have given this state as many spindles as in all the three southern states together, a record that is astonishing by reason of its exclusiveness. These statistics exhibit the peculiar situation that, were it not for the state of Massachusetts, the race for supremacy in cotton manufacturing between the North and the South would be nigh unto hopelessness for the North from a superficial point of view. Outside of Massachusetts, and certainly outside of New England, the gain in cotton manufacturing, in number of spindles in the North, was practically nothing between 1890 and 1900.

And why was it so? The reason for it cannot readily be given, and when state officials are appealed to for some sort of an explanation they are at a loss for

an answer that will satisfactorily clear the question. The state of Maine retrograded during the decade, ending it with about 5 per cent. loss in the productive capacity of her mills. The explanation given by the bureau of industrial and labor statistics is that "during the last decade the larger establishments, generally, made a gain in their number of spindles, but some half a dozen small establishments, with from 9,000 to 25,000 spindles, and, perhaps, some minor mills manufacturing twine and cordage, went out of business, due, very likely, to lack of capital and improved machinery to meet competition." This is certainly a most superficial reason to give for the apparent decadence of an industry that is the most important, in the value of its product, of any in the state, and conducted, it is to be supposed, with every advantage that long experience and skill can give, with the further great advantage of having cheap motive power from highly developed water powers of great capacity.

New Hampshire made only a trifle better showing than Maine, yet nearly three-tenths of the capital employed in the manufactures of the state is in the cotton industry, which, also, has back of it many years of experience and the impetus of a prosperous career, with splendid water powers, which were the first inducements for the establishment of the industry there. When the industrial bureau of the state is approached for a reason for this comparative standstill, no better explanation is given than that "the cotton industry in the last ten years, seemingly, has not increased very extensively, although the Amoskeag Co., thought to be the largest cotton mill in the world, and other corporations of Manchester, have put up large mills, but understood to be chiefly for print works."

When we come to Rhode Island and Connecticut we find a no better state of affairs. No progress what-

ever, of any moment, was made in these states within the decade, for causes that are inexplicable to the state authorities, though poor shipping facilities and poor water power are suggested for the latter state, which will hardly be accepted as entitled to even a first consideration.

As to Rhode Island, the situation is beyond official explanation, and none is given. No state in the union is so strictly textile. Over one-half of its capital in manufactures is in the manufacture of textiles, and of the latter cotton stands first and worsted second, yet the cotton industry did not move a peg scarcely, from 1890 to 1900. If cotton manufacturing in Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut feel the effect of southern competition to the extent of being forced to suspend further extension, why should it not be the same with Massachusetts, whose factory laws are less liberal, affecting the hours of labor, the obligations of employers to employees, and the inspection of mill property? It cannot be because of taxation, for though the tax on the productive capacity of cotton mills is relatively high in Maine and New Hampshire, it is not much more than in Massachusetts and Georgia, in the South, while in Connecticut and Rhode Island it is relatively low, as low as in North Carolina and South Carolina. Nor can it be because of any lack of progressive enterprise in manufacturing, for Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut increased the value of their manufactured products, of all kinds, \$211,000,000 for 1901 over that for 1890, against an increase of \$147,000,000 for Massachusetts and \$119,000,000 for North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia together. This relaxation in cotton manufacturing in these four New England states must be looked upon as a suspension of energy in this one direction, however anomalous it must appear when compared with the



force and activity displayed by their sister state, Massachusetts.

Massachusetts possesses no advantage in natural resources, climate or in the spirit of her people over the other New England states. It has been claimed upon certain scientific observations that the climate along the southeast seashore of the state is superior to that elsewhere to be found in New England for spinning fine cotton yarn. While nature may have favored this spot more than any other, it has not been to such a degree as to nullify these other parts for fine spinning, especially when the climate or atmosphere within the mill can be, nowadays, brought to any condition by artificial means.

It is one of the peculiarities of all industrial vocations to concentrate, and this is the only excuse, however unsatisfactory it may be, that can be offered for Massachusetts' remarkable progress in cotton manufacturing against apparently adverse conditions, yet it is equally valid when applied to other states. There is no logical reason for Massachusetts standing alone in all the North in upholding the integrity of cotton manufacturing. It is true this state has the principal cotton machine shops in the United States, and practically all the financiering for them, and for all the cotton mills within its limits, is done here, on a conservative and enlightened basis. The banking system is built up on lines established for the special purpose of fostering manufacturing enterprises, and controlled by men familiar with their peculiarities and needs. Capital investments are made with an intelligent understanding of what the chances are for a safe and sufficient return. Cotton manufacturing is a trade in the state on the part of capitalists, mill owners, stockholders and work-people. All are trained to its requirements and know how to estimate its fortunes and to behave in its vicissitudes.

The larger part of the increase in cotton manufacturing in Massachusetts, between 1890 and 1900, was in and about the cities of Fall River and New Bedford, where 80 and 65 per cent., respectively, of the population engaged in manufactures is employed in some textile occupation, nearly altogether cotton. Here all experience, energy and thought have been for years and years employed in the one direction of manufacturing cotton in the most economical way as to administration and labor-saving devices and methods. Comparatively speaking, fine spinning has been the work of the mills, and especially may this be said of New Bedford, where fine goods have been made from the start, or from the time when the whaling vessel gave way to the cotton factory. Great advances have been made within the last ten or fifteen years in the texture, style and finish of the goods, unexcelled by anything made in Europe. There is a certain undefined esprit in the industrial life of Massachusetts that, in some way or manner, differs from that to be found elsewhere. It manifests itself remarkably well in the establishment and maintenance by state, municipalities and public-spirited citizens of textile schools in three of the great manufacturing cities. Two of these have already a national reputation, though their usefulness is more local than otherwise in instructing those employed in the factories of the neighborhood, and in this manner raising the tone of the whole industry such as properly directed intelligence alone can communicate. In this respect the South is doing likewise, and with her textile schools in the heart of the manufacturing districts there is a future before it quite as encouraging as anything that exists elsewhere.

The cotton manufacturing industry of the South is entering upon new lines of manufacture from the plain and gray goods to the fancy and bleached. Bleaching

establishments will naturally follow the building up of a great industry, as may be noted in the erection of a complete finishing plant at Gaffney, S. C., for the bleaching, mercerizing, dyeing and finishing of cotton goods and yarns. At the same time, the principal factory at this place has decided to change its product from plain cloths to those of fancy weaves, for dress goods, etc.

The social conditions of factory employees in southern cotton mills have greatly improved since 1890; and this improvement that affects the laboring white population of that section is very largely due to the moral influence of the factory system itself, under the management of humane and discerning men; and with this improvement comes more efficient operatives for a better and a more diversified class of production. The sentiment of southern manufacturers is against the employment of children under 12 years of age, but the educational laws of the state are not favorable to its practical carrying out, therefore the proportion of children among the wage earners was as great in 1900 as in 1890, or 23 to 27 per cent., against 4 to 10 per cent. in New England.



## ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW

EMMET DENSMORE, M. D.

One of the first principles to be mastered in the study of the Guntonian philosophy is the value of social contact. In the inception of the factory system, Mr. Gunton has pointed out, weavers who had before lived in isolated households and had worked sixteen and seventeen hours per day for seven days in the week, did not have their isolation in general broken in upon, excepting the Saturday afternoon when the weaver carried the products of his week's work to his employer and returned with material to be worked upon the following week. As soon as these weavers were gathered together in little dwellings situated near the steam factory, they at once constituted a society of their own. The more active, enterprising and ambitious among these workmen set the pace for their neighborhood, and the wants and ambitions of the community were thus stimulated. The hours of labor, which began with fourteen, were soon reduced to twelve, and, in obedience to the demands of the laborers, a gradual and continual reduction in the hours of labor has taken place. In obedience to the increased wants of the operatives, wages have gradually but steadily risen, and any student of Gunton is familiar with the steps that have led and are leading to the shorter hours and higher wages of the laborers, and the consequent increase in the general business and prosperity of the community.

A law that applies to the unit applies with equal certainty to a collection of units, and if social contact is good for an individual and for any given community, it is equally good for larger and larger groups, until the nation is included.

On and after the beginning of the Spanish-Ameri-

can war in 1898, Professor Gunton seemed to have lost sight of the influence of this law of social contact upon a great nation. Our public men, who from the outset were in favor of the retention of the Philippines, had much to say regarding the natural wealth and opportunities afforded by the archipelago and the untold value that the possession of the Philippines would be to the United States. Mr. Gunton responded that it is the development of trade and wealth at home which is the making of a nation, and that the expenditure of our money and energies in the Philippines might leave millions of acres of western land undeveloped and mines unworked, and that these acres and these mines are of far more importance to the prosperity of America than the Philippines, however rich they may be in natural resources. The mistake in this view, so it seems to me, is in the supposition that the energies which we were then devoting and have since devoted to the Philippines would necessarily reduce the capital and enterprise invested in the development of our own country. Such is not the result of the simplest action of social contact. When the wants of an individual or a neighborhood have been increased by that wider knowledge which comes from social contact, the old wants and the old demands are not lessened but steadily maintained. All that happens is that the new wants are added to the old ones and the whole is insisted upon—in consequence of which mandate wages rise and prosperity increases. Subsequent events have shown that the social contact which has come to our nation as a result of the Spanish war has been no exception to the rule. In consequence of that war and of the consequent social contact of our nation—the gratuitous advertising and increased respect of the world that came to us as one of the results of the war and of the part we subsequently played in China—we were placed in the procession of world powers. A

tremendous impetus has been given to our manufactured products for export; but because of this there has been no tendency to lose sight of our home needs and home markets, or to relax in the least our strenuous endeavors to supply the home markets and the home needs.

The same is true in the matter of our taking possession of the Philippines and at the same time carrying forward those domestic enterprises which Mr. Gunton truly says are of chief importance to our nation. In no other four years of the nation's history has there been such strides taken in the development of the West, in the development of domestic manufactures, and in the carrying on of all those industrial movements which it was feared might be injuriously affected by our enterprise in the Philippines. The mistake was in supposing that if our attention was called to the Philippines we would overlook and fail to develop our own resources. We can now see that just the contrary has been the result.

In a recent report of the Atchison and Santa Fe Railway, and notwithstanding last year's drought and a crop shortage which reduced the purchasing power of the agricultural classes by \$300,000,000, the Santa Fe has nevertheless been able to increase its gross earnings by \$4,681,000 during nine months of the current fiscal year. This increase, and, as before said, in the face of a large crop shortage, is because of the great development which has recently taken place in the natural resources of the West and Southwest, and because so many manufactories of every character have sprung up along the lines of trans-continental roads. It is plain that our occupation of and activity in the Philippines has not retarded the development of manufactures and the extension of our crop acreage in the West; and this applies especially to the development of irrigation



systems for arid lands, a much needed work. Indeed, there is every evidence that the stimulus given to America by the distinguished part she has played in the world drama has had much to do with stimulating our activities at home.

Let us glance again at the principle of social contact and what it accomplishes. All students of Gunton readily understand that as our laborers have shorter hours, more leisure to attend lectures, more time for discussion and more opportunity to scrutinize the show windows of department stores and the like, the wants of these laborers are increased, in due time wages are raised, the volume of business enlarged and general prosperity augmented. But this enjoyment of greater wealth on the part of the wage earner is but a small part of the benefit that accrues to him from his social contact and his enlarged opportunities. Co-extensive with his increased material prosperity is the development of his mind and character. To demand and to get an increase of wages, to expend increased sums for wants, and so to enhance the prosperity of themselves and the community, is well; but the development of intelligence, and familiarity with the facts of history and the affairs of the nation, with the demands of civics and the increased interest in one's fellows, and in general the uplift in refinement and spirituality, is of far greater importance.

As aforesaid, whatever is true of the units is equally true of the largest group. There can be no doubt that one result of our world's contact has been the unexpected and bewildering advances we have made in manufactures, exports and general prosperity. But these material gains are not to be considered alongside of the educational and uplifting influences that have resulted from this social contact of our nation. We began the war with Spain in defence of a down-trodden

people. It does not matter that some selfishness and some crudity entered into our motive. No doubt "Remember the Maine"—an ignoble watchword—had its influence and may indeed have been the turning point; all the same, a disinterested and unselfish benevolence such as the world never before saw was the mainspring in our action. The educational value of such a campaign is beyond computation. We are all human, imperfect and frail; we are naturally much more interested and entertained with our own personal endeavors than with the enterprises of others. If I chance to become interested in social settlements and betterments, or if I become much interested in missionary work, or become enlisted in an effort to advance the interests of education in the South—in whatever expression my altruistic activities find vent the larger share of my interest is centered. As a nation we follow and are subject to the same law. Never before did one nation undertake so unselfishly to free another, and the rebound from this enterprise is likely to be of more value to the American people than it has been and will be to the people of Cuba, great as that beneficence has been. And then, our nation has become interested and even engrossed in the carrying out of our altruistic activities. We have not only given freedom to Cuba, but we have destroyed the plague spots of Cuban cities and given these cities a model sanitation; and the intense interest our people have taken, not only in the sanitation of Havana, Santiago and Porto Rico, but in following the interesting steps in the development of schools in those cities, has been of priceless benefit to and an incalculably uplifting influence upon our own people.

In a recent address in New York before the Presbyterian General Assembly, President Roosevelt said:

"The citizens of this republic have a right to feel proud that we have kept our pledge to the letter, and that we have established a new

international precedent. I do not remember—and I have thought a good deal about it—a single case in modern times where, as the result of such a war, the victorious nation has contented itself with setting a new nation free, and fitting it as well as it could be for the difficult path of self-government. Anarchy and ruin would have lain before the island if we had been content with the victories of war and turned the island loose to run itself. Now we bid it godspeed as a nation, and we intend to see to it that it shall have all the aid that we can give it.”

It is clearly true that “anarchy and ruin would have lain before the island if we had turned it loose to run itself.” We have done far more than to be negatively helpful. By the simple force of our nation’s might we have tacitly guaranteed Cuba against foreign interference. As a result, Cuba has no need for an army and a navy. The government of Cuba sees this so clearly that no provision has been made for a minister of war or a minister of the navy. This state of things for Cuba is a well-nigh immeasurable beneficence. When we consider how all the peoples of Europe are taxed and burdened with armies and navies and war expenditures, what a tremendous relative advantage the people of Cuba enjoy in being wholly freed from these heavy burdens, and being at liberty now to go forward and engage in those peaceful and industrial activities which are the formation of prosperity and progress. Moreover, this phase of our interference with Cuban affairs has cost us nothing, and there is not the slightest existing indication that it ever will cost us anything, while it is, nevertheless, an incalculable advantage to the people of Cuba. At the same time, I maintain that the results of our interference in Cuban affairs have been, are being and must continue to be a still greater beneficence to us than to the people of Cuba, quite aside from the consideration of our numerical superiority. The growth of character and the spiritual uplift that is coming to us is of far greater importance than material prosperity. I realize that in this matter we are in danger



of too great complacence; and it will be well for us to meditate quite as much upon our shortcomings as upon the incontestible fact that we are a leader of nations in altruistic activities. All the same, when our president calls our attention to the fact "that we have established a new international precedent" in altruism, the educational, expanding and uplifting influence upon our people is an inestimable benefit.

What have we done in the Philippines? In President Roosevelt's message to congress last December occurs the following significant passage:

"In our anxiety for the welfare and progress of the Philippines, it may be that here and there we have gone too rapidly in giving them local self-government. It is on this side that our error, if any, has been committed. No competent observer, sincerely desirous of finding out the facts, and influenced only by a desire for the welfare of the natives, can assert that we have not gone far enough. We have gone to the very verge of safety in hastening the process. To have taken a single step further or faster in advance would have been folly and weakness, and might well have been crime. We are extremely anxious that the natives shall show the power of governing themselves. We are anxious, first, for their sakes, and next because it relieves us of a great burden. There need not be the slightest fear of our not continuing to give them all the liberty for which they are fit. The only fear is lest in our over-anxiety we give them a degree of independence for which they are unfit, thereby inviting reaction and disaster. As fast as there is any reasonable hope that in a given district the people can govern themselves, self-government has been given in that district. There is not a locality fit for self-government which has not received it. But it may well be that in certain cases it will have to be withdrawn because the inhabitants show themselves unfit to exercise it; such instances have already occurred. In other words, there is not the slightest chance of our failing to show a sufficiently humanitarian spirit. The danger comes in the other direction." President Roosevelt further says: "Our earnest effort is to help these people upward along the stony and difficult path that leads to self-government. . . . Our aim is high. We do not desire to do for the islands merely what has elsewhere been done for tropic peoples by even the best foreign governments; we hope to do for them what has never before been done for any people of the tropics—to make them fit for self-government after the fashion of the really free nations."

This message was given at the beginning of De-

ember last. In *The Outlook* for May 31st is published what may be called a report by Governor Taft on "Civil Government in the Philippines." Fortunately Governor Taft's character and reputation are such as to give confidence in the report he has made. In a discussion of this matter, the editor of *The Outlook* states:

"It is interesting to note, after so much misrepresentation of the situation in the Philippines, that the story of American control there is as definitely constructive and as fundamentally upbuilding as the story of American control in Cuba, recalled in another column. It is a history, not of conquest, but of the laying of the foundations of a superior civilization, with specific reference to the needs of the people who are to be governed, and with definite reference to the welfare of the islands, both material and moral. This aim, so distinct from that which has shaped the colonial policies of most other governments, and of all colonial policies at an earlier period in history, is clearly evidenced by the generous share which Filipinos receive in the government of the islands, a share which is as large as the exigencies of the situation will permit, and which will become larger as the population becomes more accustomed to popular government and the natives fitted to administer it increase in numbers.

"The United States has built up in the Philippines a popular government from the very foundation. It began by a large appropriation for the construction and improvement of roads in the archipelago and for the improvement of the harbor works at Manila, involving altogether an expenditure of not less than four millions of dollars, and designed, by making the harbor at Manila satisfactory and adequate, to give the islands facilities for commerce with the rest of the world, and, by the construction of good roads, to open up the interior of the country to the seaports. It has passed a general school law, laid the basis of a general school system and brought to the islands a thousand American teachers; so that more than half the towns in the archipelago now have an American teacher, whose chief function is to teach the Filipino teachers the English language and the proper methods of education. In other words, the government has established a popular flexible school system which will be coterminous with the islands themselves. Normal and manual training schools have already been organized at various points."

It will be seen that the aim of our government in the Philippines has been substantially the same as that which has governed our action in Cuba, and very different from the colonial policies of other governments, even that of England herself, which has heretofore given the world the nearest ideal colonial policy.

As the years, and even as the months, come and go, the situation in the Philippines rapidly improves. In a letter from President Roosevelt, dated June 8th, written to the Rev. Charles E. St. John, of Boston, Secretary to the American Unitarian Association, the president says:

"I am happy to be able to say that the bill which has just passed the senate will, if enacted into law, enable us to proceed even more rapidly and efficiently than hitherto along the lines of securing peace, prosperity and personal liberty to the inhabitants of the Philippine islands. There is now almost no 'policy of coercion' in the Philippines because the insurrection has been so entirely overcome that, save in a few places, peace, and, with peace, the policy of conciliation and good will obtains throughout the islands. There has never been any coercion save what was absolutely inevitable in putting a stop to an armed attack upon the sovereignty of the United States, which, in its last phases, became mere brigandage."

The most important question involved in this discussion is whether the occupancy of the Philippines by the Americans tends to weaken our democracy and our sense of fair play, and whether it exerts any reactionary and injurious influence upon us; or whether, as I contend, our efforts to provide the Filipinos with self-government as rapidly as they are able to utilize it, and giving them a stable government, the benefit of schools and an opportunity to pursue peaceful industries, will react upon our own people, as it undoubtedly has done and is doing in the case of Cuba, for the promotion and development of the higher qualities of our nature.

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In the foregoing article there are a few points that need a word of correction. The fact that Dr. Densmore favors a United States colonial policy is a matter that calls for no special remark, only that he has endeavored to fasten his argument upon the economic theory and reasoning represented by this magazine, and in so doing he has made several important mistakes.

First of all, he says, "it is a part of the Guntonian



philosophy" that the law of social contact "applies with equal certainty to a collection of units, and if social contact is good for an individual and for any given community, it is equally good for larger and larger groups, until the nation is included." But this is not the case; there is no social contact between groups as groups, and least of all, between nations as nations. The only social contact that ever takes place is between individuals. It is the influence of contact upon the individual that finally affects the character of the group, but the medium of social transmission is always the individuals. The civilization of nations may affect each other by the intercourse of their citizens, as the manners and fashions of Europe are transferred to this country, and vice versa; but this is not the intercourse of nations; it is the intercourse of individuals through travel. Trade with the peoples in different countries stimulates this effect, but that, too, is always individual and not national. But none of this requires conquest or political annexation.

He speaks of the present prosperity as in some way due to the Philippine policy, but it had absolutely nothing to do with it. The great strides in economic development at home took place before anything of importance was done abroad. Foreigners will not buy American rails or locomotives or have American built ships merely because we whipped Spain and have a stronger navy, or because foreign countries are a little more afraid of us. Those reasons have absolutely no influence on our trade either at home or abroad. The only reason why foreigners will buy our products is because they can get them cheaper, or that they are better than can be had elsewhere. The only extent to which our performances in the East have helped our domestic prosperity is in the consumption of arms and ammunition and clothing and rations by the army and navy.

We never suspected for a moment that annexing the Philippines or anything else would lessen the energy with which Morgan would organize trusts, or the United States steel company improve the methods of manufacturing armor plate and steel rails. Capitalists will develop the resources of the nation whenever the profitable opportunity presents itself.

On this point Dr. Densmore's remarks are without any foundation in fact. What we referred to by attracting attention to foreign affairs to the neglect of home was not in the doings of the capitalists at all, but in the public opinion and public policy of the nation, and on that point our prediction has been all too literally vindicated.

Congress, the press throughout the country, and the administration have been literally absorbed during the last two years with this foreign policy. Discussion in relation to these new possessions practically monopolized the attention of congress during the last session, and no question of great national importance had any chance for fair consideration.

There are several important measures which ought, and otherwise would have received discussion in the press and consideration in congress during this session. Conspicuously among these was an important banking law, and a comprehensive bill dealing with immigration. Because of the overshadowing character of the Cuban and Philippine business, the late session was distressingly barren of results.

Our present marvelous industrial growth is the outcome of our previous economic policy, a conspicuous feature of which was a wholesome protective system, now being demoralized by this colonial and foreign policy discussion.

Another point that Dr. Densmore makes is the altruistic effect of our Philippine experiences upon the

American people. Regarding this, he is especially unfortunate. It is true, as he says, that our assistance to Cuba was the most extraordinarily generous act one nation ever did for another, but the altruism which led to that was born of our previous domestic progress; it came before any of our experiences with the Philippines. Nothing has occurred since we went to the Philippines to strengthen our altruistic sentiment at home, but, on the contrary, everything to deaden it. The brutalities that were perpetrated there, not merely by soldiers individually, but officially, are wholly barbarizing instead of being altruistic in their effect. For instance, the capture of Aguinaldo and the promotion of the man who did it was debasing to every sense of honor and manliness; it gave the official sanction of this country to one of the most treacherous, cowardly and unmanly acts that was ever perpetrated; it made sneaking cowardice creditable. The various methods of torture that have been applied to the natives to make them turn state's evidence on their comrades are a return to the brutalities of the middle ages. The endorsement of these acts, or the fact that they were officially permitted, led to giving all sorts of pretended ethical reasons therefor, such as would justify the inquisition, and amounted to a process of educating the American people in an endorsement of these barbarities.

Our recent experiences in Cuba have shown the demoralizing and not the altruistic character of this policy in another direction. In order to carry its point the administration descended to using the funds of the Cuban treasury for the purposes of a partisan propaganda. First of all, as a part of the undemocratic spirit born of this whole policy, the administration wanted to control the election in Cuba, and to that end bought the political influence of General Gomez and his friends that Palma might be elected, which was a pure case of



bribery. This decline in political morality is a direct result of the calloused condition that the protracted dealing with this subject has produced; and nothing more clearly indicates this moral stultification than the almost unanimous acquiescence of the press in the misuse of public funds in Cuba by General Wood. To be sure it has been pronounced wrong, and in many quarters called a political mistake, but caused no serious moral protest. Moreover all this tends to familiarize the people with the suppression of popular rights and its justification on the grounds of necessity, the influence of which can be no other than the lowering of our moral standard of political conduct. The more frequently we apologize for and justify the outrages upon personal rights, as in the Philippines, and political integrity, as in Cuba, we deaden the sentiment and lower the plane of political and personal morals at home.

It is a matter of deep regret that thus far the facts have more than justified our worst predictions of the policy of expansion. More than two years ago we pointed out that expansion would endanger protection, but we did not think it would come so soon.

## PAST AND PRESENT TARIFF LESSONS

HENRY W. WILBUR

"The present position of the great manufacturing interests of the United States is highly encouraging. The necessity for protecting these branches of industry has disappeared. . . . They have become so firmly established that they can maintain themselves under any commercial system that will sustain the government."

That sounds wonderfully like a current tariff reform deliverance, but it is really an extract from an editorial that appeared in the *New York Herald* of Sept. 19, 1847. It simply shows that the opponents of protection are the same blind guides they were more than half a century ago.

The *Herald* was parading the delights of the revenue tariff passed in 1846, and did what seems to be second nature with a free-trade theorizer, counted its chickens before they were hatched. A little later a condition came which upset the *Herald's* theory. By 1853 industrial wreck and ruin came upon the country, and gaunt want confronted the masses of the people. The *Tribune* of Oct. 4, 1853, thus stated the condition:

"Furnaces and mills were everywhere closed, and with each step in this direction we became more dependent on the foreigner, who raised his prices; and the higher they rose the greater became his power to accept bonds in payment. The more bonds we sold the higher rose the prices and the duties; and the more rapid the accumulation of the debt the greater became the revenue, which is now surplus, and for precisely the same reason that caused the existence of the surplus of 1836—the destruction of the domestic competition for the sale of cloth and iron."

Soup kitchens and free lunch counters were finally established in the cities to keep the people from starvation. Horace Greeley made a personal inspection of the relief of the poor in New York city, and the *Tribune* of Jan. 15, 1855, told the story of his observations. It is not necessary to quote the details. It was a realistic

description of the frenzied scramble of the unemployed for the soup and crumbs that were to be had at charity's table.

Instead of American industries being able to sustain themselves under a revenue tariff they went into decline or went out of business entirely. The closed factories and workshops called for the opening of soup kitchens.

Our industrial history has repeated itself. A tariff system leaning towards free trade in the nineties produced the same results that it did in the fifties. It would naturally be supposed that the period from 1893 to 1897 would still be fresh in the memory of all men. Nevertheless, the free trade apostles are as ready as the *Herald* was in 1847 to declare that our industries no longer need protecting. Hence they advocate making a hole in our tariff policy by way of sentimental Cuban reciprocity, through which hole free trade may force entrance into our industrial enclosure, and what makes the effort more threatening is that a lot of unbaked protectionists are giving aid and comfort to the free trade promoters.

There are still other evidences that the opponents of the American protective system have learned nothing in a century, more or less. The charge was made by free traders more than seventy-five years ago that the policy of protection fostered those joint stock companies which gave New England her industrial prominence in the earlier days of the republic. In a speech delivered in the United States senate, Feb. 6, 1832, the matchless Henry Clay tore this scarecrow to pieces.

The "tariff reformers" are just as hysterical in 1902 as their progenitors were in 1832. Those who wail about protection fostering those combinations of capital called "trusts" are simply victims of a false notion. They seem to fancy that the growth of wealth is



an evil, and are consumed by the fear that men generally and the nation collectively may become too prosperous.

There are present conditions of commercial growth and industrial prosperity in our country which may well make the tariff tinkers pause before attempting to disturb existing conditions.

Our country now supplies Europe with goods which but a few years ago we were obliged to import. Tin plate, which the doubting Thomases said we would always have to get abroad, we now produce in abundance for our home consumption, and recently we exported tin to Wales, the peculiar home land of this commodity. Silks, which aforetime we secured in France, we now export to that country. On page 20 of a recent "Review of the World's Commerce," issued by the state department at Washington, we read: "There are, indeed, surprisingly few of the articles which used to be obtained exclusively abroad that are not now produced extensively in the United States. The woolen as well as the silk industry of France and the hosiery industry of Germany are said to be suffering extensively from our competition, and the Bohemian glass industry is feeling the effect of the increase of glass manufactured in the United States."

It should be remembered that we may search the industrial history of the United States in vain to find industrial prosperity at home or commercial expansion abroad keeping company with periods of tariff for revenue or any of the legislative devices looking towards free trade. The development of our home market and its protected enjoyment lays the foundation of that domestic prosperity which makes us able to go forth and capture the markets of the world. These facts, stubborn and unassailable, make it imperative for us to

let well enough alone in the matters which pertain to our tariff system.

If these signs at home were not enough, the portent of a tariff storm in England should strengthen our allegiance to our own policy. England has been a nominal free trade country for something more than half a century; she was strongly protectionist for several centuries, and her commercial supremacy was built up during the period when she adhered to protection. Now that the commerce of the world is slipping through her fingers and she is fast losing her place as the manufacturer of the nations, it is natural that her up-to-date statesmen and economists should be looking to the re-adoption of her original protective policy. It looks as if the time were near at hand when England, by returning to protection, will cease to occupy the position of the only free trade country in the family of modern progressive nations.

Considering the history of the past and the signs of the present, sound economists are not anxious for any tariff experiments which will bring a return of the soup-kitchen periods of 1855 or 1895. Industrial progress at home or abroad cannot be advanced by imperiling any established American industry. Our country having attained domestic prosperity and been placed on the high road towards commercial supremacy while adhering to the policy of protection, and having gone into the valley of humiliation whenever we have headed towards free trade, the true American policy is to continue the protective system as the indispensable bulwark of our national progress.

## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

The New York *Press* appears to have assumed the function of exclusive interpreter of the inner meaning of the president's remarks on trusts, in his Pittsburgh address. It would seem only fair to at least let Mr. Roosevelt into the secret.

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THE TEMPTATION of a president to use the power of his office during the first term to secure the nomination for the second, is evidently irresistible. It would seem that the only way to secure the disinterested attention of the national administration to the nation's affairs is to limit the presidency to one term.

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GENERAL WOOD'S unblushing use of public funds for party campaign and lobbying purposes, like the disgusting barbarities perpetrated in the Philippines, furnishes a foretaste of what may be expected under a system of military colonial government. A continuance of this sort of thing would soon lower the standards of political morality at home as well as disgrace the name of the republic abroad.

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THE REPUBLICANS of Wisconsin have administered a very wholesome rebuke to Senator Spooner for his position on the protection and reciprocity question. The notice to the national administration to keep its hands off Wisconsin politics, and the request that federal office holders be permitted to attend to their official duties, instead of packing caucuses and stampeding conventions, is also a very wholesome note of warning, which with this administration should have been unnecessary.



COMMENTING upon the fact that Gen. Wood took \$15,626 from the Cuban treasury to subsidize the *Havana Post*, circulate literature and stimulate a lobby for tariff reduction, the *New York Evening Post* says: "If they (the Cubans) had [this money], and in addition the sums which Gen. Wood gave to buy off the opposition of Gomez and others, the Cuban government would not have been obliged to cancel its contract for the education of Cuban teachers in this country for lack of \$30,000."

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THE STATISTICS of exports and imports for the year ending June 30, 1902, afford an interesting illustration of the prevalent error that a nation's prosperity is measured by the extent or increase of its foreign trade. It appears that our imports for 1901-2 were \$79,793,243 greater than in 1900-1901, and our exports were \$105,000,000 less. Besides a net decrease of \$185,470,727 in our favorable balance of trade, the figures show an actual decrease of \$25,993,441 in the total volume of foreign trade.

From the foreign trade theory this would indicate a decline in business prosperity, whereas, this has been one of the most prosperous years in our history. The simple explanation is that our progress has been in domestic industry, where the expenditures and profits, employment and wages, have all been at home, which is always the true test of national welfare.

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We do not question the president's desire to do something about trusts, along the rather indeterminate lines he has indicated in his speeches, but we cannot imagine him dull enough to believe that this nonsense of Mr. Littlefield will amount to anything. We think that it would clear the air a little if he managed to make it known that he was in no wise connected with the performances of the Maine statesman.—*New York Times*.

THIS STATES the case exactly. Whatever may be

the president's real position on the matter of trusts, Mr. Littlefield's quasi-official utterances smack more of politics than statesmanship. Unless the president has undergone a radical change of views, he is not opposed to large corporations, or so-called trusts, but is interested only in having them surrounded with conditions which shall reasonably insure open, fair, competitive business methods. Much that is being said by the assumed custodians of the president's policy is likely to do him no good, and business much harm.

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AN EFFORT is being made by certain republican papers to interpret the president's remarks about trusts, in his Pittsburgh speech, as the signal for a republican anti-trust issue. Whether this is inspired, or is merely an exhibition of political sensationalism, it is manifestly a political mistake.

The democrats could beat the republicans high and dry on an anti-trust issue. They can bid several points more than Roosevelt for anti-trust votes every time. If necessary, they will go the whole length of suppressing the trusts and advocating public ownership. This is about the only issue upon which they can agree, and they will agree to the full dose. Bryan will accept it because it is good populism; Cleveland and the eastern democrats will accept it because it leads directly to tariff smashing and free trade. In any bidding for the anti-trust vote, the president will be beaten ten to one. Only bad advisers will recommend Mr. Roosevelt to stake his political fortunes on an anti-trust campaign.

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THE *World*, on January 9 last, made this editorial statement, "based on figures obtained direct from trustworthy sources":

"It (the steel trust) is now selling rails in England at \$22.50 per ton, after paying railroad and ocean freights. The ocean freight alone

is \$5.11 per ton. So that American steel rails are really being sold in England at \$17 per ton.

"The American price is \$28 per ton—\$11 higher than the English price."

This statement bears all the earmarks of falsehood. At the time this was first published, the United States Steel Corporation had orders for steel rails months ahead at \$28 a ton, and therefore had no motive for selling them in England at \$17. It would require consummate business folly to do that. The managers of the steel trust may be guilty of foolishness, but they are not so senile as to sell steel rails at \$17 a ton when they can get \$28. In view of the known facts, we have no hesitation in saying that we believe the statement to be untrue. The *World* will please give its "trustworthy source" of these figures or wear the brand.

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QUITE A FLUTTER has been produced in the daily press by an editorial in the *American Federationist*, affirming the doctrine that in labor disputes the public has no standing in law or equity as a party to the controversy; that the question whether the laborers shall work or not work, or capitalists shall produce or not produce, is for the laborers and the capitalists alone to determine; that the only right the public has in the case is to insist that both laborers and capitalists shall act within the law. Since this is exactly the position that capitalists have always insisted upon, the concern indicated in the conservative press because the laborers take the same view is a little surprising. This view is only partially true, for while the public cannot directly interfere with the specific contracts, it can indirectly interfere by radically changing the conditions under which both parties act and live. The theory that the public is not a party to labor contests is technically true in law, but unsound in social economics and political



science. If the corporations and the unions wish to escape caustic interference of the public, they must find a way of acting together and adjusting their difficulties without injuring the public.

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THE SOUTH appears to be very unfortunate in its representatives in congress. Only a few weeks ago the senate was disgraced by a brutal brawl, created by a fight between the two senators from South Carolina. Now comes Senator Bailey from Texas, who goes Senator Tillman one worse in disgraceful conduct. Tillman had some provocation, but Bailey had none. Simply because Senator Beveridge of Indiana said that Bailey had made an "unwarranted attack" on a public man, he waits until the senate adjourns and assaults him in his seat as Brooks did Charles Sumner. The Brookses, Tillmans and Baileys are not only a disgrace to the states which elect them and to the whole South, but they are a disgrace to the nation, and a scandal on the senate of the United States. If the people in their states insist upon electing such ruffians to the national senate, it is time that body took the matter in its own hands, and established a rule that any person who assaults a senator on the capitol grounds, for any cause whatever, shall never again have a seat in the senate. Bailey should be expelled at once, and if re-elected should not be permitted to take his seat. Texas should be minus a senator until it could elect a man fit to associate with gentlemen.

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THE ACTION of the United States Steel Corporation in securing permission from the New Jersey Legislature to issue \$250,000,000 of 5 per cent. bonds with which to take up \$200,000,000 of 7 per cent. preferred stock and raise \$50,000,000 in cash, is creating unfavorable comment in the financial world abroad as well as at home.

The *London Economist* thinks it a questionable move, but is "typical of the constant reshuffling of company capital which is just now so much in vogue on the other side of the Atlantic," and points to it as "a useful object lesson of the danger which British investors run in embarking in enterprises formed under the very elastic laws of the state of New Jersey and some other portions of the union."

There are several features of this transaction which are well calculated to raise suspicion. One is the fact that a corporation which has a colossal surplus of \$24,500,000 from one year's operation, besides allowing \$15,400,000 for reserve, depreciation and improvement, and above payments of all interests on its bonded indebtedness, 7 per cent. on its preferred stock and 4 per cent. on its common stock, should be in such immediate necessity of borrowing \$50,000,000 in cash as to pay the syndicate negotiating it \$10,000,000 for its service.

This corporation has undoubtedly rendered great service in steadying the iron and steel industry, and through it many tributary industries in this country. But if anything should be done to create the impression that a \$1,404,000,000 corporation was organized for speculative rather than investment and productive purposes, it would have a disturbing effect on the whole field of large corporate enterprises, which would also tend to strengthen the superficial anti-trust sentiment of the country. This would be both an economic and political misfortune.

## THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers to them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics of ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

### QUESTION BOX

#### A Mine Owner's View

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I have to-day read in July number of the magazine your article on the anthracite coal strike. I did not see Mitchell's statement, but I have heard it criticised as a very one-sided statement. You say that Mr. Mitchell shows that miners never exceed 200 days employment in the year, and that their average earnings are \$1.42 a day. I am not familiar with the anthracite conditions, but I can say in regard to situation in the bituminous districts that it is true that the miner averages only two-thirds time, but he will not work any more than this. We have had orders so that we could have run our mines continuously at full capacity for the past three years, had the miners been willing to work steadily, the same as men in other crafts. But even with steady work offered them, and the mine in operation every day, our men average only 200 days a year. They are under contract to work 8 hours per day, six days a week, and yet they stay out of the mine on the average one full day a week, and leave the mine from one to two hours before quitting time on enough other days a week to make a total idleness of two days a week. They go to work at 7 a. m., are supposed to take a half hour for noon and quit at 3:30. They can be seen any day coming out of the mines anywhere from 1:30 to 3 o'clock. Very few of them work the full 8 hours. Mitchell knows this as well as I do. How can he or anyone else expect them to average the wages in other crafts, when they insist on loafing two-thirds



of their time? There is a lot of maudlin sympathy wasted on the miners. For the work they do, they are well paid, and the conditions of work are not unpleasant. If they do not rise in the social scale, it is because they do not make good use of their opportunities. They spend their wages foolishly, as a rule. Very few own their own homes or take a proper pride in rising, they being satisfied so long as they exist from day to day. I have never felt more like doubting the efficacy of shorter working hours than since I have been running a coal mine.

Pittsburg, Pa.

G. M.

Our correspondent is evidently in too close contact with the facts to be able to generalize philosophically. In order to give impartial consideration to any vexed question, one must be sufficiently removed from the thick of the conflict not to be immersed in a single interest. Of course Mr. Mitchell's statement was one-sided; it was intended only to present the side of the miners. The corporations had presented theirs. But it is highly probable that even a one-sided statement may be correct in its facts. Of course our correspondent comes in contact with the situation from a directly opposite side, as he is a mine owner and employer. He admits that the men in the bituminous coal field do not average more than 200 days a year, but he adds that it is their own fault; they won't work any more; and he probably might have added that if one of them were discharged for not working the full eight hours that there would be a strike. He ends up by saying that they get as much as they are worth. Of course this could be said of any class of laborers in the world. It was probably never true that employers thought wage earners worth more than they received. The truth is that the standard of what any class of laborers are worth is determined by what they have habitually insisted upon having. Of course they spend their money fool-

ishly. People of a low character, with a generally dull and uninspiring environment, always spend their money foolishly. As a class, coal miners are a crude, rough, reckless lot, but the question is, Why are they so? Why are coal miners so much more reckless than mechanics in other callings? Like everybody else, they are largely the product of the conditions under which they work and live.

The bottom fact is they have been imported from the continent because they are cheap. The employers were not willing to pay American wages and thereby secure American workmen in the mines, but they wanted something as near the ground-hog as they could get, if he could only dig coal, and they have imported laborers from the lowest spots of Europe. Why should they expect intelligent, characterful citizens from such material, especially under the comparatively crude environment of a mining camp? So long as the mine owners of this country want that kind of cheap labor they must expect to have that kind of low character, and they must expect to have the unreasonable conduct and spasmodic violence that kind of character gives.

It is not surprising that our friend doubts the efficacy of short hours. He might well doubt the efficacy of high wages for the same reason, contending that if they had longer hours and lower pay they would have less time and money to waste in dissipation. He might go a step further and conclude that slavery, after all, may be the best plan for this kind of people; but there is another side to that: They are in the United States, and they are citizens, and they have votes. It is, therefore, a matter of important public concern either that they be given all the character-creating conditions to make good citizens, or that they be not permitted to come to the country at all. If the mine owners of this country expect as high a general standard of character among

their laborers as prevails in other crafts, they must pay the price and offer the conditions that will attract the laborers from the same general grade of citizens. They cannot both have the cake and eat it.

But the way to improve conditions is not to lengthen the hours and keep down the wages and so stereotype the bad conditions. If any good is ever to come, it must be in stimulating the increase of the laborers' demands for more of the good things of life. Whatever the pecuniary interests of the mine owners may be, our civilization and national progress demand that the conditions of the miners be improved, or no more of them be brought into this country.

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### The Differential Duty on Sugar

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In the first paragraph in the "Editorial Crucible" in the July MAGAZINE, you rather intimate that you would favor abolishing the differential duty on refined sugar. Would not that open the flood gates of free trade as much as a reduction of the tariff on Cuban sugar? It is possible, however, that people generally do not understand what the differential really is.

W. W. H.

The sugar schedule in the tariff law is a complex affair and is often confusingly referred to. In brief, it is this: That all sugar imported into this country showing less than 75 degrees by the polariscopic test shall pay a duty of seventy-five one-hundredths of a cent a pound. For every degree above this a duty of thirty-five one-hundredths of a cent is added, until it reaches the highest standard before refining, which is described as 16 Dutch standard and tests about 96 degrees. This makes the total duty on raw sugar, ready for refining, about one and sixty-nine hundredths of a cent a pound.



The tariff act provides that "on all sugar which has gone through a process of refining" duty shall be one and ninety-five hundredths of a cent a pound; this additional twenty-one hundredths of a cent is the differential. The duty on all below 16 Dutch standard, or about 96 degrees test, protects home producers of beet and cane raw sugar. The differential protects the refiners. The abolition of the differential duty, therefore, would press hardest on the refiners. The sugar trust, for instance, would feel the full weight of this. Of course the beet sugar producers would feel the same pressure, since refining is practically a part of the continuous process of producing beet sugar, but they would receive the protection for their raw product. The removal of the protection on raw sugar only would retain all the protection for the sugar refiners and give them the full benefit of the reduced duty on the raw, while being a direct blow to the producers of beet sugar. There is one peculiarity in the attitude of the administration during the recent controversy in congress on this subject. The administration forces insisted upon a reduction in the duty on raw sugar, but when it was proposed to couple with it the abolition of the duty on refined sugar they promptly objected. Just why the administration should object when the sugar trust was touched, and insist upon a reduction which affected only the American producers, is a little perplexing. Our reason for leaning towards the abolition of the differential was, that if the sugar industry is to be attacked at all, there is no reason why the sugar trust should not share in a cut with all the rest. Favoritism is the scandal of tariff legislation, and to reduce the duty on raw sugar to the manifest benefit of the trust and injure all beet sugar producers, leaving the differential untouched, would be glaring favoritism.

### Cuban Revenues

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—The newspapers are filled with assertions about the lack of revenue to support the Cuban government since the new republic began to do business. Can you tell us what has happened in the way of commercial restriction or regulation which tends to curtail Cuba's revenues which did not exist during the period of our military administration of the island's affairs? During that time the revenues seemed ample for governmental needs at home and tariff propaganda abroad.

J. F. W.

Nothing has occurred on our part to lessen the Cuban revenues, nor to restrict in the least Cuba's market opportunities. It is frequently said that we deprived her of certain foreign markets which she previously enjoyed. This is a mistake. While under Spanish rule, Cuba had slightly favored admission to the Spanish market, she paid for this many times over in exorbitant taxation for Spanish purposes and opulent salaries for Spanish officials. The governor-general, for instance, received \$50,000 a year, as much as the president of the United States, and a minister for the colonies \$96,000, nearly twice the salary of our president, and so on down the list.

Moreover, she was compelled to admit Spanish goods into Cuba nearly free of duty. For instance, on a hundred kilometers of knitted goods, or woollens, Spain would have to pay a duty of only \$10, while other countries paid \$195. For a thousand kilometers of sugar bags Spain was taxed \$4.69, while other countries paid \$82. On a hundred kilometers of cashmere and that class of woollens, Spain paid only \$15.40, other nations \$300. All this was so much out of the revenues of Cuba. It is true that Cuba has lost whatever special privilege she had in the Spanish market, but that was due to the overthrow of Spanish rule, which she had

been conducting a revolution to accomplish for years. If she had succeeded without our help, that would have occurred just the same. We only assisted her to do what she had been painfully struggling to accomplish for a long time, with a slim chance of success and with a devastating effect upon her industries and population. She is producing more and selling more than she has for many years. Clearly there is nothing in our relations to Cuba that has either lessened her revenues, restricted her markets, or the output of her wealth. It was not expected that Cuba could come out of such a struggle and find opulent prosperity awaiting her. Those who go to war or inaugurate revolution must expect to face depressed finances and depleted industries afterwards. If the newspapers of this country would do as much to stimulate and encourage industry in Cuba as they are doing to encourage Cubans to be mendicants at the door of the United States, it would be better for the industrial welfare of Cuba and for the political morality of this country.

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### The Babcock Plan

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In the attempt to settle the trust problem, what is the matter with the Babcock plan of reducing the tariff on trust-made articles?

L. M. S.

There is nearly everything the matter with the Babcock plan. To propose that the tariff be abolished on all trust-made articles is very much like proposing that free trade be adopted for all staple manufactures. In the first place, there is no recognized definition of trusts. Every large corporation is called a trust; hence to abolish the tariff on all trust-made articles would be practically to put all large corporations on a free-trade basis. This would do one of two things: either trans-



fer the manufacture of these products to foreign countries, or wipe out the small producers in the same line altogether, and give those concerns which could survive the foreign competition a practical monopoly. Instead of breaking the trusts this would break the small competitors and give the trusts more complete control of the field. The Babcock plan has neither economic sense nor political philosophy in it. If the tariff is to be revised, the revision should be done on a comprehensive, scientific plan. Products should not be transferred to the free list because they are made by large corporations or small ones, but the business should be based on the economic necessities of the industry. If it is worth while to keep the industry in this country, and it would be injured by removing the tariff, the tariff should be retained, and vice versa. But any revision of the tariff should be governed entirely by its effect upon the general industry of the country and not upon the particular industries directly affected.

## BOOK REVIEWS

THE LOWER SOUTH IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By William Garrott Brown. Cloth, 271 pp. \$1.50. The Macmillan Company, New York and London.

The author of the fugitive pieces which constitute this volume is a southerner by birth, if not by education, and is now lecturer in history at Harvard University. We are, therefore, treated to a study of southern conditions, traditions and institutions by a native of that section. It is not too much to say that the book is very readable, and is more philosophical and less prejudiced than is generally the case when a southerner attempts to review the doings of his people, social or political.

In speaking of the "lower South" the author refers to geographical rather than moral location. The section treated may be consulted on the map by considering the following territory: "South Carolina and Georgia on the East, Louisiana, Alabama and Texas on the West, part of Tennessee on the North, and Florida." This is the region of cotton growing, the center of old-time slave territory, and the land where ante-bellum statesmen were grown and educated who nursed the secession theory until it grew into armed rebellion.

While aiming to be fair and in the main judicial, our author takes pains to impress the reader with the idea that it was not slavery alone which caused the rebellion. He declares that it was the presence of large numbers of Africans in the South which caused all of the trouble. That would seem to be begging the question. Manifestly, but for slavery there would never have been present in Dixie or on the continent any considerable number of negroes. From the time the little Dutch slaver discharged its cargo on the banks of the

James river down to the breaking out of the war and later, slavery was the inspiring cause of our sectional difficulties. The social and industrial system of the South rested on slavery, and the "peculiar institution" was the only thing for which the chivalry of the section was willing to fight to the last ditch.

The second chapter in the book treats of "The Orator of Secession." That orator was William L. Yancey. Born in South Carolina in 1814, he died in 1863, and did not live to see the rebellion he did so much to hatch become the terribly lost cause. Yancey's own life history is a standing proof of the dominating evil influence of slavery in accomplishing the undoing of the South. He was the editor of a strong unionist newspaper when a young man, but he married a rich wife, endowed with a plantation plentifully stocked with slaves, and his better nature was dried up in the atmosphere of the overseer's whip and the human auction block. We are told that he was the prince of agitators and a man of marvelous eloquence. Just how a man can grow eloquent defending an institution grounded in the enslavement of a race only becomes understandable when we consider that eloquence depends principally upon a gift of language, a vivid imagination and earnestness, and men may be and have been earnest and serious in their allegiance to monstrous error.

Without doubt, northern men generally fail to understand the type of mind and political philosophy which existed in the South. The southerners deified the letter of the constitution and their peculiar interpretation of it, and ignored the claims of humanity outside the white race. They failed utterly to understand that wrong and injustice can never be made right by the vote of a majority even of white men. Lowell embodied the whole truth when he declared that "man is more than constitutions."



In discussing the perplexities and problems, sectional and national in character, which have been inherited as a legacy from slavery and the war, it is only an occasional man who fully understands the moral law which underlies national as well as personal conduct, and we are not sure that our author is one of the number. National wrong and injustice rest heavily upon the national conscience and involve national responsibility. The moral order of the universe requires that great wrongs long permitted must be expiated in the bloody sweat of all those who tolerated the iniquities, and sometimes by their children's children down to the third and fourth generation. When we were in the midst of the carnage of the rebellion, Whittier, writing as a true prophet, said:

"What though the cast-out spirit tear

"The nation in his going?

"We who have shared the guilt must share

"The pangs of his o'erthrowing!"

This is why North and South are vexed even to this day with the disfigurements and perplexing problems of which this book in a measure treats.

In the chapter "Shifting the White Man's Burden" there is a sign of that careless use of language which characterizes innate race prejudice. We are led to infer that our author fancies that there is a peculiar type of badness which characterizes black men; in other words, that they are bad because they are black and white men are better because of the color of their skin. But there are white men, whole blocks of them, as low and mean and depraved as black men can possibly be, and in exactly the same way. To solve our social and political problems, condition and character, and not race, are the vital things to be considered.

"The Lower South," however, is full of admirable things, and is written in such excellent spirit, in the

main, that it can be read with pleasure and profit by thoughtful people on both sides of Mason and Dixon's line.

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THE ELEMENTS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, WITH SOME APPLICATIONS TO QUESTIONS OF THE DAY. By J. Laurence Laughlin, Ph. D. Cloth, 386 pages. American Book Company, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

This is an excellently prepared text book on political economy. It is made attractive by a variety of illustrations, by diagrams and maps usually well suited to the purpose. The strong points of Mr. Laughlin's book are his money chapters. These are clear, succinct and for the most part convincing. On this subject Mr. Laughlin is eminently sound.

On matters of foreign trade, however, and free trade and protection, he has the greatest difficulty to be even fair. The bias of his mind on this subject makes his reasoning narrow, and his illustrations all point one way. He retains in this book most of the errors of Mill of half a century ago. He says on the point of reciprocal demand (page 157): "The value of an imported commodity depends on the cost of acquisition—that is, on the value of the thing exported in exchange for it. If we export one hundred gallons of petroleum in payment for an imported French clock, the clock should exchange approximately for what the one hundred gallons of petroleum will exchange for in the United States."

It would be difficult to construct a more misleading statement of foreign values than this. The first clause of his statement: "the value of an imported commodity depends on the cost of acquisition," is entirely correct, but to say that the cost of acquisition abroad depends on the "value of the things exported in exchange for it" at least needs verifying.

The illustration about the French clock and the one hundred gallons of petroleum is not an illustration at all, for such a thing never took place. Nobody exports petroleum in exchange for French clocks or in exchange for any other foreign product. Petroleum is sold for money and if French clocks or English woollens are bought, they are bought for money wholly independent of American petroleum, wheat, steel rails or anything else. The foreign exchange does not take place in any such way; it is buying and selling just as literally as if both transactions took place in this country. The value of French clocks is determined by the cost of manufacturing French clocks in France, and not by the cost of producing petroleum in the United States. Nor is the value of petroleum in this country governed by the cost of producing clocks in France, woollens in England or rubber sponges in Russia. How much petroleum an American would have to sell in order to buy a French clock would, of course, depend on the cost of producing and exporting the petroleum on the one hand and the cost of manufacturing the French clock on the other.

This is a phase of the value fallacy of Cairnes, in which he sought to establish as a part of the theory of supply and demand that all demand is supply and all supply is demand, which is not true in fact, or at any rate it is not primarily true. When it happens to be true, it is an incident to rather than a cause of the situation.

On the question of free trade and protection, Mr. Laughlin gives many evidences of having retained the old point of view which prevailed in the forties. For instance, among other things he says "protection is dangerously socialistic." He seems on this point not to have risen above the commonplace assumption that protection is always paternalism. For an economist



to-day to fail to distinguish between the protective and the paternal element in public policy is, to say the least, to be woefully belated. If this were true then, all legislation, such as factory acts, sanitary laws, etc., would be paternalism. In that case, we would be forced to conclude that paternalism was a very good thing, for experience has conclusively demonstrated that this class of protective legislation which throws the protecting arm of the law around the opportunities for health and personal freedom, conditions of labor, etc., is of the very essence of civilization.

These are not paternalistic at all, they are protective. The difference between the two terms, and it is a radical one, is that the one protects the opportunities of the individual to have certain conditions and do certain things, while paternalism is the effort of government to do things for him. One is doing for the individual, and the other is to protect the opportunity for the individual to do for himself.

Tariff protection is the protection of the opportunities of home industries, in the same way that the enforcement of sanitation in the work shops and the laborer's home is a protection of the opportunity for health, and that protection is needed, because under the circumstances they are not able to furnish it themselves. It is one of the inseparable functions of the state; it is in the nature of organized society that the state should perform these functions. It always has done so, and in the nature of things it always must.

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THE STORY OF THE MORMONS; FROM THE DATE OF THEIR ORIGIN TO THE YEAR 1901. By William Alexander Linn. Cloth, 637 pages. The Macmillan Company, New York and London.

The author of this book assures us that it is a record of facts, and that it rests largely on Mormon sources of

information. It is a narrative of mingled superstition, fraud and crime, with scarcely a recognition of a redeeming trait on the part of the peculiar people whose story is told.

Starting with the first inception of the Mormon movement by Joseph Smith, near Palmyra, New York, the bloody trail of the "saints" is followed to Kirtland, Ohio; to Jackson county, Missouri; to Nauvoo, Illinois, and across the plains and mountains to the Salt Lake valley in Utah, where the flower and fruitage of Mormonism are to be found to-day.

The Mormon bible is pronounced a fraud from the time of its reputed discovery on the metal plates to its printing, and Sidney Rigdon, a disciple or Campbellite preacher, who turned Mormon, is charged with its authorship.

Joseph Smith, the first prophet of this church, is pictured as a combination of ignorance, duplicity and superstition. He saw visions by using a "peek" stone; was a digger for hidden treasure, and a locator of wells by means of a forked stick held in his hand over the supposed vein of water.

The Mormons began to flock together at Kirtland, Ohio, about 1830, and remained seven or eight years, being driven from the place because of their alleged badness and consequent unpopularity with their neighbors, so this story tells us. They fled to Jackson county, Missouri, where an aggravated experience of the same sort awaited them. They were ordered to go by a mob of citizens, and a good deal of bloodshed was indulged in before they went. The citizens issued a manifesto, in a general way charging the Mormons with all sorts of crimes, the most specific being "tampering with our slaves," and that meant making them dissatisfied with their servitude.

The Mormons then emigrated to Nauvoo, Illinois,

and made elaborate preparations to stay. It is claimed that from 1840 to 1846 nearly 4,000 Mormon converts came from Europe to the Nauvoo settlement.

Soon, however, an armed hostility existed between the Mormons and the world's people. Battles, more or less bloody, were fought, and finally Joseph Smith and several of his followers were arrested and lodged in jail. While in the possession of the authorities, Joseph and his brother Hiram were murdered.

Then it was decided to move to the far West, and Brigham Young assumed the leadership of the Mormon host. The route of the exodus was marked by the direst sufferings.

All of the horrible details of public massacres and secret assassinations which it is claimed characterized the Mormon rule in Utah before the admission of the territory as a state are given in this book, including the somewhat prolonged conflict with the United States authorities.

If there are or were any good Mormons, this book does not give their biographies. If they did any good work in carving the Utah settlements out of desert and wilderness, the statement of it is in the main avoided by Mr. Linn.

Taking the volume as a whole, one is somewhat lead to doubt the rightfulness and wisdom of spoiling six hundred pages of good paper in rehearsing its gruesome details.

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DANIEL WEBSTER. By Samuel W. McCall. Cloth, 124 pp. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York.

Daniel Webster graduated from Dartmouth College in the class of 1801, and the volume before us contains an address delivered at the college on the one hundredth anniversary of that event.



Mr. McCall speaks as an advocate and an apologist, and makes Webster the foremost member of the bar in America and the nation's leading orator. Regarding his legislative career, Mr. McCall is equally partisan. He is even unwilling to criticise Webster as a compromiser regarding the slavery question. In the light of the present it would not be just to hold Webster up to that bitter scorn contained in Whittier's "Ichabod," nevertheless the truth warrants the assertion that, with all his greatness, he did not rise to the opportunity he had to attack the nation's great iniquity.

The popular notion that Webster spoke and acted for years with his eye on the presidency is rather scouted by Mr. McCall, and yet we are of the opinion that reliable history will continue to teach what for half a century has been reiterated. The country has been painfully aware, in more cases than one, that a man's real public usefulness can be pretty nearly eclipsed by the constant buzzing of the presidential bee in his bonnet.

For massiveness, profundity and an almost Grecian eloquence, it is probable that Webster had no superiors in our country's line of great men. Few present-day statesmen can be entertaining and eloquent on their feet for seven hours, as was Webster in his reply to Hayne.

We are told that the great statesman was an ardent lover of nature and a sympathetic friend to all living things. We are indebted to Edward Everett Hale for exploding some of the slanders regarding Webster's drinking habits, it being alleged by Dr. Hale that his father's friend was not an excessive drinker, and surely was not a drunkard.

Mr. McCall had a noble theme for his oration, and in choice language he gave it a noble treatment. The book will be read with pleasure by all Americans.

DANIEL EVERTON, VOLUNTEER REGULAR. A Romance of the Philippines. By Israel Putnam. With illustrations by Sewell Collins. 12mo, cloth. Price, \$1.20, net; postage, 10 cents. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York and London.

This novel will never sink into insignificance because of its weight, for it is light enough to float. The wit in it is cheap if not low, and the lesson conveyed is not specially inspiring or informing.

The author spent eighteen months with the army in the Philippines, and on that fact rests his qualification to paint conditions in the islands in the colors of romance.

As the story proceeds and the weak plot thickens, the character who represents the insurgent natives is loaded down with treachery, and is made to appear very much of a wretch. He is presented as a true sample of all the Filipinos who made a struggle for independence. The only "noble Roman" among the natives, who figures as one of the heroes of this tale, is a rich planter who clamors between drinks and the shuffling of the cards for American sovereignty, and lots of it.

In following the thread of the story the reader comes upon constant evidences of the demoralizing effect of soldiering in the Philippines. Still we suspect that if a person was hunting for a fair and impartial statement of social and political conditions in the archipelago, he would not go to this "romance of the Philippines" to find it.

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#### NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

*Savings and Savings Institutions.* By John Henry Hamilton, Ph. D., Professor of Sociology in Syracuse University. Cloth, 436 pp. The Macmillan Co., New York.

*The Story of the Mormons,* from the Date of Their

Origin to the Year 1901. By William Alexander Linn. Cloth, gilt top, 637 pp. The Macmillan Co., New York.

*The Small End of Great Problems.* By Brooke Herford, D. D. Cloth, 303 pp., gilt top. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

*Principles of Sanitary Science and the Public Health.* By William T. Sedgwick, Ph. D. Cloth. \$3.00 net. The Macmillan Co., New York and London.

*Statistical Studies in the New York Money Market.* Preceded by a brief analysis under the theory of money and credit, with statistical tables, diagrams and folding chart. By John Pease Norton, Ph. D. Paper, 108 pp. \$1.00. The Macmillan Co., New York.

*The Government.* What It Is; What It Does. By Salter Storrs Clark. With maps and illustrations. Cloth, 304 pp. 75 cents. American Book Company, New York.

*Factoring.* By Webster Wells, S.B., Professor of Mathematics in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Paper, 30 pp. 10 cents. D. C. Heath & Co., New York.

*Sociologic Studies of a Medico-Legal' Nature.* By Louis J. Rosenberg, LL. B., Associate of the Victorian Institute, London, England, and N. E. Aronstam, M.D., Ph. G., Assistant in Chemistry and Dermatology, Michigan College of Medicine and Surgery. With Introduction by Hon. Clark Bell, LL.D., President of the Medico-Legal Society. Cloth, 142 pp. \$1.00. G. P. Engelhard & Company, Chicago. 1902.

*The Works of Lord Macaulay.* The "Albany" Edition. Crown, 8vo, gilt top, \$16. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. A new and complete authorized edition in 12 volumes, with 12 portraits in photogravure. Sold only in sets.

*Outlines of Metaphysics.* By John S. Mackenzie, M. A. of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire. Cloth, 172 pages, \$1.10. The Macmillan Co., New York.







GOVERNOR ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE OF WISCONSIN

# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## REVIEW OF THE MONTH

**Optimistic  
Wage  
Conditions**

A number of notable wage increases have taken place in the industrial world recently, the more important being:

An increase of one cent per hour to motormen and conductors, nearly 5,000 in number, on the Union Traction trolley lines in Philadelphia. This is practically a 10% raise.

An increase of 10% to cotton mill operatives in southern New England, affecting more than fifty thousand.

An increase of 25% and an eight-hour day for two thousand structural iron and bridge workers in and about Pittsburg.

An increase of from 5 to 10% to the one thousand employees of the Barbour Flax Spinning Company, of Paterson, N. J.

An increase of 10% to the four thousand employees of the John A. Roebling's Sons Company, of Trenton, N. J.

An increase, amounting to \$125,000 a year, to about two thousand signalmen, dispatchers, telegraphers and towermen on the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad.

An increase of 10% to some fifteen thousand employees of the United States Steel Corporation in mills and furnaces in and about Pittsburg. This was granted without preliminary notice, the amount being enclosed in the pay envelopes of June 26th.

A substantial increase in varying amounts to about fifty thousand iron workers in the rolling mills throughout the country. This increase takes place under the sliding



scale arranged with the iron workers' union, and follows the advance in the price of bar iron.

Right in this connection, it is a gratifying circumstance that the tin-plate wage scale for the coming year has been adjusted satisfactorily by mutual conference, the result of which is described by President Shaffer, of the amalgamated iron and steel workers, as follows:

"The wage scale agreed on last April stands and will rule until April, 1903. We settled nearly all the 'footnotes,' as the general conditions are called. The rest have been referred to the local lodges. Our conferences have been friendly and satisfactory, and there has been no friction. The 'footnotes,' most of which have been settled, do not affect the general situation. There is not, will not be and cannot be any trouble until the wage 'scale expires.'"

**Cuba's  
Contemplated  
Loan**

Early in the month of August, the Cuban senate passed a bill which caused no little discussion in this country. The bill calls for a loan of \$4,000,000, at a maximum rate of interest of 5 per cent., the bonds to run thirty years. The bill also provides for another loan within six months of \$35,000,000, drawing the same interest and subject to the same conditions as the loan of \$4,000,000. The first claim to be made upon the larger loan is to provide for the payment of the smaller.

It is then provided that a sum not exceeding \$23,000,000 shall be devoted to the following purposes: Paying the obligations legitimately contracted by the corps commander of the liberating army after February 24th, and prior to September 19th, of the year 1895; to the payment of the indebtedness and obligations of the revolutionary government itself, or debts legitimately contracted by its representatives in foreign countries; and to the payment of the wages of the soldiers of the liberating army. To provide for carrying this loan, the bill raises the import duties from ten to one hundred per cent. on a stipulated list of articles.

It is held in this country that the contemplated Cuban loan would be a violation of the provisions of the Platt amendment to the Cuban constitution, which was adopted by our congress, and which the Cubans were obliged to

ratify before we would let them try their hands at self-government. The particular provision which it is thought applies to his case is to the effect "that Cuba must never contract any public debt beyond the capacity of the island's revenues to sustain." As it is supposed that the United States has the sole right to determine when Cuba is misbehaving herself regarding any provision of the Platt amendment, it is presumed that we shall promptly decide when the little republic is likely to extend her business beyond her ability to manage, and will interfere to stop that sort of indiscretion whenever we may deem it necessary.

On the other hand, it is argued that the Platt amendment is of no binding effect on Cuba for various reasons. The claim is made that the Cuban constitutional convention exceeded its delegated power when it accepted the Platt amendment, which really amounted to determining the republic's international and treaty relations, a matter for the legislative and executive branches of the government to settle. It is also claimed that the amendment referred to was ratified under what was a sort of combined bribe or threat. This country practically said to the Cubans that if they did not accede to our demands we would not let them try the experiment of self-government. Then we told them that if they were obedient to our behests we would grant them valuable special commercial privileges. Consequently some of the wise ones tell us that a bargain thus coerced is not binding.

This may or may not be sound doctrine. Whether the bill providing for this contemplated Cuban loan does or does not become a law, it is very plain that this government laid in a large stock of trouble when it became the guardian of the youngest infant in the family of nations, and went pell-mell into the colonial business.

<b>Progress in Iron and Steel Industry</b>	The report of the American Iron and Steel Association for 1901, prepared by General Manager James M. Swank, unquestionably the best authority on the subject in the United States, was
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recently presented to the members of the association. This report gives abundant statistics of permanent importance, showing the enormous growth of the iron and steel industry in the United States. The *New York Journal of Commerce* publishes a comparison of some of these figures with those of 1891.

During the decade from 1891 to 1901, the production of iron ore increased from 14,591,178 tons to 28,887,479 tons. The production of pig iron increased from 8,279,870 tons to 15,878,354 tons. Steel, all kinds, increased from 3,904,240 tons to 13,473,595 tons; bessemer steel rails from 1,293,053 tons to 2,870,816 tons; wire nails from 4,114,385 kegs to 9,803,822 kegs; the production of cut nails, however, decreasing during the same period from about five million to one and one-half million kegs. The production of tin and terne plates increased from 999 tons during the last six months of 1891 to 399,291 tons during 1901.

This immense increase in production has been accompanied by a decline in prices, even though "boom year" 1901 is the point settled for comparison with 1891. For instance, the price of old iron "T" rails at Philadelphia declined in the ten years from \$22.05 per ton to \$19.32. No. 1 foundry pig iron at Philadelphia declined from \$17.52 to \$15.87. Bessemer pig iron, at Pittsburg, showed almost no change, although of course there had been heavy fluctuations during the decade, the price in 1891 being \$15.95 and in 1901 \$15.93. Steel rails at the mills in Pennsylvania declined from \$29.92 to \$27.33. Wire nails showed an increase from \$2.05 per keg (Chicago price) in 1891 to \$2.41 in 1901. During the past few months, however, wire nails have been exactly at the 1891 price, \$2.05. This general trend of prices reflects the economizing influence of large organization and immense production under modern conditions.

**The New  
Supreme Court  
Justice**

Justice Horace Gray of the United States supreme court recently resigned, and President Roosevelt promptly appointed Oliver Wendell Holmes, chief justice of the Massachusetts su-



preme court, to fill the vacancy. Judge Holmes is the son of the poet and essayist, the late Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, and is described as a model judicial officer, with a marked literary tendency. During his judicial career in Massachusetts he is said to have leaned to labor's side in his deliverances from the bench whenever the cases warranted. It is therefore to be presumed that if any of those marvelous injunction cases which have engaged the attention of certain circuit judges down in West Virginia should find their way to the nation's highest court, they would receive no sympathy from Justice Holmes. He is not likely to consider that feeding hungry and clothing naked strikers is an offence for which men should be sent to jail.

Not a little conjecture has clustered around this appointment regarding its bearing upon our drifting and imperialistic colonial policy. It has been claimed, and pretty generally admitted, that the president did not call Justice Holmes to the supreme bench until his standing regarding the late decision of the court in the insular cases was known, and it has been assumed that the new justice will voice the opinion of Justice Gray in this particular when he succeeds to the latter's ermine.

As the court in the case of *Downs vs. Bidwell* sustained the administration by a majority of only one, a judge less imperialistic than Justice Gray might make the supreme court shift its position in future similar cases coming before it. Still, when we come to consider the real position of Justice Gray in the case noted, it would be a venturesome prophet who would very strongly predict that the late position of the court would eternally be the same, even though its membership should remain unchanged.

The case noted above related entirely to customs duties, and the right of the United States to collect duties on articles sent to this country from our insular possessions. Justice Gray held that territory acquired by war must necessarily in the first instance be governed by the military power; that as the civil government cannot immediately ex-

tend to such territory there must be a transition period; that neither military occupation nor cession by treaty makes the conquered territory domestic territory in the sense of the revenue laws; consequently if congress is not ready to construct a complete government it may construct a temporary government which is not subject to all of the restrictions of the constitution.

The manifest contention of Justice Gray was that the territory secured from Spain was in this transition state, and it plainly calls for a time when the temporary condition outside of any provision of the constitution should give way to a permanent condition entirely constitutional. It is therefore by no means certain that the supreme court will at any time dignify this transition period into permanency. Sooner or later Porto Rico and the Philippines must either start on independent careers, or assume a territorial position under the constitution similar to New Mexico and Oklahoma.

Even though Justice Holmes should maintain the position taken by his predecessor, there is nothing to warrant the supposition that he would favor a perpetual condition of colonial dependence for our insular possessions, nor is there any very tangible evidence that the Roosevelt administration is in favor of such an unalterable policy.

#### **The Country's Grain Crop**

The August crop report of the department of agriculture, based on official estimates and actual results, seems to warrant a bountiful but not phenomenal harvest. The promise is for 652,590,000 bushels of wheat, and 2,561,000,000 bushels of corn. In the division between winter and spring wheat, the latter is credited with 380,000,000 bushels, and the former with 272,590,000 bushels. More than a million less acres were sown in winter wheat, for the harvest of 1892, than were sown the year before, and of spring wheat, four million less acres will be harvested this year than last; so that, as a matter of course, the aggregate crop is smaller this year than last, by about ninety-six million bushels. While this is

true, the wheat crop of 1902 promises to be larger by 126,000,000 bushels than it was in 1900, and larger than in any previous year in the history of the country, excepting 1898, when the crop aggregated 675,148,705 bushels.

The estimated corn crop of 1902 is a billion bushels larger than in 1901, and 275,000,000 bushels larger than the corn yield of the next most productive year. If the wheat crop this year should be sold at 68 cents a bushel (the price quoted for September wheat in the Chicago market at the time this article was written), it would bring to the producers \$443,761,260. The corn crop, if sold at 50 cents a bushel (the price of September corn), would enrich the farmers who grew it to the extent of \$1,280,745,000. The market price of these two cereal crops, it will be seen, aggregates \$1,724,506,260. If we add to the corn and wheat crop the 806,000,000 bushels of oats, we have, as an aggregate for the three kinds of grain, the enormous yield of 3,862,000,000 bushels.

**Party Politics  
and the  
Next Congress**

A much talked of recent political event was the Iowa republican state convention. This purely local party gathering was given prominence largely for the reason that the platform adopted by the convention is supposed to voice some of the new republican policies which have been given shape since the Cuban reciprocity scheme came to naught in the late session of congress.

Certain western republicans, of whom Governor Cummins, of Iowa, is a sample, are anxious to see their party embark upon a trust-smashing and tariff-revising campaign; therefore, the Iowa platform squints in that direction. Regarding revision the platform says:

"The republican party will modify the tariff whenever new conditions require such modification, and if in any specific case a change in the tariff will tend to relieve the people from the oppression of a trust without undue injury to American labor, that change ought to be made. Revisions of the tariff, tending as they do to unsettle business, should only be undertaken when the wrong to be corrected is so



serious that the improvement contemplated will compensate for whatever disturbance to business will result from such revision."

This is construed by the democrats and professional reformers as a confession that the tariff needs immediate revision. Hence, it is not surprising that the tariff discussion in the republican party should have caused the democrats to call up the ghost of tariff reform and put it to the front as their dominant issue in the congressional campaigns this fall. Apparently taking it for granted that the Iowa platform meets the approval of the administration, most of the republican newspapers in the country have endorsed its utterances, and have declared that such have always been the principles of the republican party.

Platform deliverances in state conventions this year are, as a matter of course, supposed to set the pace for the congressional campaigns to be fought in all the states. It may therefore be of interest to take a view, perspective and retrospective, of things congressional: The house of representatives in the fifty-seventh congress contained 357 members, politically divided as follows: Republicans 201, democrats 151, populists and silverites 5. Under the apportionment based on the census of 1900, the lower house of the fifty-eighth congress, to be elected in November, will contain 386 members, being an increase of 29. Of the extra members, Illinois, New York and Texas will each have three, Minnesota, New Jersey and Pennsylvania two each, and one in each of the states of Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, North Dakota, Washington and West Virginia.

Under the most favorable circumstances, the republicans could be expected to elect 19 and the democrats 10 of the extra 29 members. In that case, if the democrats should capture 28 representatives more than they now have, they would have two majority in the fifty-eighth congress. It will thus be seen that there is little room for a lazy optimism regarding republican success in the congressional elections of 1902.

If the republican managers educate the public mind in the notion that the pressing present day issue is a revision of the tariff and an assault upon great corporations, it is almost a foregone conclusion that the voters of the country will not delegate a job of this sort to their party.

**An Interesting  
Civil Service  
Case**

A very nice point in civil service reform, involving the rights of government employees, is likely to command the attention of the courts, as it has already received a good deal of discussion in the newspapers. The case, which is really an interesting one, may be summarized as follows:

Miss Rebecca J. Taylor was a clerk in the war department at Washington. She was summarily dismissed from the service by Secretary Root, the only charge against her being that she was the author of a communication in a Washington newspaper in which President Roosevelt was charged with inconsistency regarding his Philippine policy. Miss Taylor claims that she was well within her constitutional rights in publishing the article, and she has resorted to the courts to compel the secretary of war to restore her to the position from which she was removed. In reply to the contention of Miss Taylor, the secretary, through the chief clerk of the war department, has made a rejoinder. The secretary says he did not dismiss Miss Taylor because of her political or religious affiliations, but because the published article, of which Miss Taylor was the author, was "captious, insubordinate and disrespectful, and prejudicial to the order and efficiency of the service."

The case seems to have been badly muddled in the minds of many writers who have attempted to discuss it. There has been a marked failure to understand the claimed rights of government employees under what is called the merit system. The holding of opinions, or the printing of them for that matter, would not seem to be sufficient cause for removal from the service, unless it can be shown that the thinking and conduct in such case renders the person incompetent to perform the services which his position

demands. This, however, is a matter of fact to be determined by evidence, and not by the arbitrary will of a superior officer. Unless that position is maintained, any pretence of unmolested tenure in the civil service, free from partisan or political interference, would seem to be a sham. Miss Taylor may have been captious, and even disrespectful in her communication, and even then it must be shown that such an exhibition rendered her unable to perform the purely clerical services which her position required. That matter should surely be passed upon by a more judicial person than a partisan secretary of war.

Miss Taylor claims that she had as good a right to criticise the administration in the newspapers as one of the civil service commissioners had to become a special pleader for the president's policy on the public rostrum. There seems to be reason in that contention; especially when it is considered that department clerks, and even presidents, are the servants of all the people.

Many of the newspapers contend that the conduct of Miss Taylor in publishing this article was equivalent to an act of insubordination in the army; that it rendered her as offensive as if she had absolutely refused to perform the ordinary services included in her daily duties. This would seem to be also the view of Secretary Root; but there can be little ground for considering the various clerks in the civil service on the same plane, as regards discipline, as the enlisted soldier in the regular army, or that writing an article criticising the president is equivalent to a refusal to perform regular daily duty.

This case plainly illustrates the undue nervousness which seems to prevail in certain quarters, when criticism of what is called "the government" is involved. There is a disposition to change the old saying, "The king can do no wrong," into a modern claim that the government can do no wrong, or, if it can, no one should say anything about it.

While abuse and caricature are not justifiable, it is well to keep in mind the fact that progress is often, if not always, based upon the criticism and orderly discussion of



governmental policies, and, if need be, of the government itself. It will not tend to good government to establish the precedent that the employees in the civil service are only allowed to think when they think in the quiet, and are to be discharged without investigation if they should think aloud by word of mouth, or commit their thoughts to paper and have them printed in the public press.

**Disorder  
in the**

**Mining Regions**

The good order which last month's magazine reported as characterizing the strike of the anthracite coal miners, suddenly changed into riot and disorder on the 30th of July, in the town of Shenandoah, Pa. The deputy sheriff was conducting a non-union laborer past the union picket lines, when the strikers captured the laborer and beat him nearly to insensibility. It is said that the deputy sheriff discharged his revolver at the strikers, and then fled for refuge to the railroad station, with a mob of five thousand angry men at his heels. A brother of the deputy, attempting to go to the latter's rescue, was assaulted by the mob, and so roughly handled that he died on his way to the hospital.

State troops were at once asked for and speedily hurried to the scene of disaster, Brigadier-General Gobin being placed in command. The first effect of the presence of the troops was to restore order, but as time elapsed antagonisms were aroused and a keen opposition to the presence of the troops was developed.

Since the original outbreak at Shenandoah there have been disturbances at other places. A striking miner was shot and killed at Nesquehoning, and at various points non-strikers have been attacked from ambush, and at Edgerton two men were fired upon and wounded. There are few signs of an improved condition either as regards the temper of the miners or the disposition of the operators to mine coal.

It is generally assumed that every act of violence and every attack, under cover, upon the soldiers or non-union men proceeded from the miners. In some cases, this as-

sumption is based on inference and not evidence. Around mining towns are many evil-disposed persons, idlers, tramps and criminals, who, out of sheer love of a rumpus, may do violent and illegal things, for which even the worst of the miners could not be held responsible.

Whatever acts of violence or incitements to riot have proceeded from the strikers have been against the advice and in spite of the influence of the leaders of the miners' organization. The local leaders and President Mitchell counseled better things, and have condemned the disorderly and criminal acts which have been committed at Shenandoah and other places.

It must be remembered that a large number of the strikers are ignorant foreigners, who do not understand our language, and who have little knowledge and less regard for our laws. They constitute a turbulent and almost uncontrollable element in a time of enforced idleness, strained conditions, and increased opportunities and temptations to dissipation.

Common sense counsels against a frenzy of indiscriminate condemnation. While coal mines continue to be manned by men representing the lowest type of European civilization, it may be taken for granted that there will be more or less trouble in the mining regions whenever any sort of an abnormal condition exists to invite it.

**Commercial Failures in July** If the number of business failures is an index of prosperity, then the record for July, according to Bradstreet's, would indicate a very healthy commercial condition. In the whole United States there were but 775 failures during that month. While this number is thirteen per cent. more than occurred in the month of June, it is eight per cent. less than the record for the month of July, 1901. Only once during the last ten years has the number of July failures been so small as this year.

More encouraging than the comparatively small number of failures are the lowered aggregate liabilities. The

liabilities of this year's July failures amounted to \$6,762,080, while in 1901 they were \$15,120,204. To fairly appreciate the far-reaching difference between failures in a time of prosperity and in the midst of financial depression, we have only to compare 1893 with 1902. In July of the former year, the liabilities of the concerns which failed amounted to \$89,559,384, or more than \$82,000,000 in excess of the liabilities represented by the failures in July, 1902.

Of the 775 failures in the country, 122 were in New York city, 134 in New England, 172 in the western states, and 97 in the southern states. What are called the middle states, of course including New York city, had 249 failures. This makes a total of 652 failures for New England and the middle, southern and western states, leaving a balance of 123 commercial wrecks to be divided between the north-western and western states and the territories.

#### Current Price Comparisons

The following are the latest wholesale price quotations, showing comparison with previous dates:

	Aug. 20, 1901	June 21, 1902	Aug. 21, 1902
Flour, Minn. patent (bbl. 196 lbs.)	\$3.75a4.00	\$3.95	\$3.90a4.15
Wheat, No. 2 red (bushel) . . . .	77 $\frac{3}{8}$	80 $\frac{5}{8}$	77
Corn, No. 2 mixed (bushel) . . . .	62 $\frac{1}{8}$	69	65
Oats, No. 2 mixed (bushel) . . . .	39	46 $\frac{1}{4}$	35
Pork, mess (bbl., 200 lbs.) . . . .	16.00	19.00	17.75
Beef, hams (bbl., 200 lbs.) . . . .	21.50	22.50	22.00
Coffee, Rio No. 7 (lb.) . . . . .	5 $\frac{3}{8}$	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Sugar, granulated (lb.) . . . . .	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	4 $\frac{11}{100}$	4.65
Butter, creamery, extra (lb.) . . .	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	19 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cheese, State f.c., small fancy (lb.)	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ a9 $\frac{3}{4}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
Cotton, middling upland (lb.) . . .	8 $\frac{7}{8}$	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	9
Print cloths (yard) . . . . .	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	3
Petroleum, refined, in bbls. (gal.)	7 $\frac{1}{10}$	7 $\frac{11}{100}$	7.20
Hides, native steers (lb.) . . . .	12 $\frac{3}{4}$	12 $\frac{3}{4}$	14 $\frac{1}{2}$
Leather, hemlock (lb.) . . . . .	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	24 $\frac{1}{4}$	24 $\frac{1}{2}$
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry (ton 2000 lbs.) . . . . .	16.00a16.50	21.00	22.50
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry (ton 2000 lbs.) . . . . .	15.00a16.50	20.50	22.00
Tin, Straits (100 lbs.) . . . . .	26.25	28.62 $\frac{1}{2}$	28.30



	Aug. 20, 1901.	June 21, 1902.	Aug. 21, 1902.
Copper, Lake ingot (100 lbs.) . .	16 $\frac{1}{4}$ 17	12.00	11.50
Lead, domestic (100 lbs.) . . . .	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	4.12 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tinplate, 100 lbs., I. C., 14x20. .	—	4.35	4.35
Steel rails (ton 2000 lbs.) . . . .	—	28.00	28.00
Wire nails (Pittsburg), (keg 100 lbs.) . . . . .	—	2.05	2.05
Steers, prime . . . . .	5.40	7.50	8.00

English prices of staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*, are as follows:

	July 5, 1901			July 4, 1902			Aug. 7, 1902		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Steel rails (long ton, 2,240 lbs.) . .	5	10	0	5	10	0	5	10	0
Scotch pig iron (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	2	10	10	2	15	9	2	16	4
Copper ( " " )	68	2	6	53	10	0	52	13	9
Tin, Straits ( " " )	129	0	0	116	15	0	124	15	0
Lead, English pig ( " " )	12	12	6	11	8	9	11	7	6
Tinplate (100 lbs.) . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	13	3
Cotton, middling upland (lb.) . . .	0	0	4 $\frac{3}{8}$	0	0	5	0	0	4 $\frac{3}{8}$
Petroleum (gallon) . . . . .	0	0	5 $\frac{3}{8}$	0	0	6 $\frac{1}{8}$	0	0	6 $\frac{1}{8}$

(American equivalents of English money: pound = \$4.866; shilling = 24.3 cents; penny = 2.03 cents.)

*Dun's Review* shows an index number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities, averaged according to importance in per capita consumption, for July 1, and comparison with previous dates, as follows:

	Jan. 1, 1892	July 1, 1898	July 1, 1899	July 1, 1900	July 1, 1901	July 1, 1902	Aug. 1 1902
Breadstuffs . . .	\$17.700	\$12.783	\$13.483	\$14.898	\$14.904	\$20.534	\$19.983
Meats . . . . .	7.895	7.694	7.988	8.906	9.430	11.628	11.679
Dairy and garden	13.180	9.437	10.974	10.901	11.030	12.557	11.347
Other food . . .	9.185	8.826	9.157	9.482	9.086	8.748	8.821
Clothing . . . .	13.430	14.663	15.021	16.324	15.098	15.533	15.582
Metals . . . . .	14.665	11.843	15.635	14.834	15.344	16.084	16.239
Miscellaneous . .	13.767	12.522	12.969	16.070	16.617	16.826	16.526
Total . . . . .	\$89.822	\$77.768	\$85.227	\$91.415	\$91.509	\$101.910	\$100.177

It will be seen that while domestic prices have considerably advanced on nearly all products over those which prevailed a year ago, there has been a slight falling off in many articles since June. Beef cattle are slightly higher than two months ago, the causes which raised prices in this particular having not been removed.

## POLITICS AND BUSINESS PROSPERITY

In no other country does business prosperity depend so much upon politics as in the United States. This is due to the fact that our extraordinary industrial growth, which has no parallel in any other country, is largely the result of a political policy which has encouraged and protected the development of domestic industry. Of course, it may be said that this dependence of business prosperity upon political policy is a misfortune. Yet, if all laws regarding trade were abolished, and business left entirely to the scramble of competition, government would render practically no aid to society and civilization.

It may be admitted that the policy of protection has made business prosperity more dependent upon politics than it otherwise would have been, but, on the other hand, it has contributed more largely than anything else to our extraordinary and unparalleled progress. This inconvenience is the price we have to pay for the opportunities which in less than a century have raised us from a weak, straggling and sparsely-settled agricultural country, to the foremost position among the nations. Without this policy, we should probably now be a fifth or eighth-class agricultural nation, with perhaps thirty million population, and without influence or standing among the civilized nations of the world. That the product is worth the price is too obvious to need discussion.

Since this is the peculiarity of our position as a nation, it must be reckoned with in considering our national welfare and public policy. It is useless to point to the experience of any other country in this matter, because there is no other nation that is similarly situated. Of course, there has always been a division of opinion on this subject. The democratic party has persistently adhered to the anti-protection doctrine. The southern confederacy made it a conspicuous feature of its constitution, and all the various fac-

tions of the present-day democratic party agree on this point. It is true that the pressure of popular opinion, born of national experience and obvious self-interest, has frequently made the democratic party acquiesce and even endorse the protective policy, but fundamentally it is opposed to it. Protection, on the other hand, has been the abiding principle of the republican party. It came with Hamilton, was defended by Webster and Clay, was endorsed and established by Lincoln, and ever since has been the foundation policy of the republican party. It is needless to say that during the period in which this policy has been steadily maintained, our exceptional progress in wealth, population and national influence has taken place.

It is quite natural and consistent that the party which has never accepted the protective theory of public policy should continue to oppose it. It may be a matter of surprise that it learns nothing from experience; that it denies obvious facts and reaffirms exploded propositions; but those who cannot see should not be censured for being blind. If the democratic leaders, from Bryan to Cleveland, believe that free trade should be adopted, they must be expected to advocate that policy. So recently as 1892, the nation temporarily yielded to an experiment with the democratic theory, and the effect is too painfully well known to need describing.

The American people are not mere theorizers. They care not for an abstract idea of free trade, democracy, or republicanism, a Bryan or a Roosevelt. What they are interested in is the welfare of the nation. Government, parties, presidents and political leaders are important only as they contribute to that end.

The nation is now in a high state of prosperity. Never before did all the economic forces so unitedly work for national welfare and permanent prosperity as during the last few years. Shall that be destroyed and an era of business disturbance and depression be inaugurated by a change of political theory? No pride of theory, prestige of party, or



political ambition should be permitted to produce such a calamity.

The responsibility for the continuance of our national prosperity rests with the administration. The democrats are under no such responsibility in this matter. They are doing what they have always done, and what they may be expected to do, viz.: demanding the overthrow of the protective policy. All that can be properly asked of them is that they will refrain from misrepresentations. The republican party and the administration are the responsible guardians of our present national welfare and prosperity. They claim the honor of representing its principles and policy. They have the control of both branches of the national legislature and of the executive. If, for any reason of personal ambition or political expediency, they aid and abet, or acquiesce in a change of policy tending to jeopardize the stability of our present prosperity, the responsibility will be theirs. Whether it was true in England, as Disraeli said, "that no ministry could withstand three bad harvests," it is very true that no administration or party in this country can stand an industrial depression of its own making. Lincoln's advice, "not to swap horses while crossing a stream," was never more applicable to our national policy than now. If a business-disturbing change in public policy comes now, woe unto the party by which it cometh.

Of course, it is not to be presumed that the tariff is never to be changed, nor is it to be expected that the tariff will last many years without showing some abnormal qualities. There never was a tariff law free from arbitrary and unreasonable features, but that is true of every other kind of law known to human experience. No law was ever framed for the regulation of sanitation, the protection of life and property, or dealing with the common affairs of men, which did not have in it objectionable features; and the tariff law is no exception. Moreover, when a tariff law has been adopted, many schedules that are economically justified at the time the law is passed become unnecessary and sometimes injurious by the industrial progress of the

country. Excellent reasons could be given to-day for removing the duty on hides, and for putting coal and lumber on the free list, and perhaps certain kinds of iron products; but the permanence of the industrial prosperity of the country is so much more important than these individual items that they are not to be considered in comparison.

There are many reasons why a general revision of the tariff should not be made a political issue at this time. During the last three or four years the industrial development of this country has been extraordinary. There were a great many natural causes which led to this—causes which grew out of the social life and the consuming capacity of our people; but there were three facts which stimulated this development which were wholly abnormal, the South African war, the war with Spain and the war in China. These three events were all wealth-consuming affairs; they stimulated transportation and created great demands for iron and steel in the building of ships, and the furnishing of guns, ammunition, and for clothing, horses, rations, etc. In all, these wars furnished a demand for manufactured products aggregating nearly a thousand millions a year. These sources of demand have practically ceased, which means a large curtailment of the market for the leading articles of industry.

Another significant fact is that the normal boom which set in in 1897 and 1898, bringing exceptional demands for new equipments in all lines of production, has practically reached its apex. In the nature of things, there will be something of a lull in this direction, not necessarily a reaction, but a lull. These two facts, which are general and far reaching, will necessarily have a modifying effect upon the extraordinary demand for products that has ruled during the last two years. This means that business will settle down to closer competition, smaller margins of profit, and necessarily to a more conservative pace. This will bring with it somewhat lower prices. It is a feature of all exceptional industrial expansion that prices become temporarily

and abnormally high until the production is again adjusted to the consumption or demand.

Another significant feature in our industrial condition to-day is the extraordinary reorganization of capital that has taken place during this period of high-water prosperity. This too is slackening now, but these large concerns which are settling down to steady business have not become quite economically normal. Some of them have unquestionably been over-capitalized; they have been capitalized on the earnings of high-water mark prosperity, rather than normal or low-water mark conditions. A few years of continued prosperity will put these concerns on a practically sound, economic basis, and thus the reorganization of industry in this transition period will have become permanent and normal. From these facts, it is manifest that a disturbance of the tariff policy might easily create a disastrous chaos. Much of this reorganization has taken place in industries directly or indirectly affected by the tariff. The amount of credit and commercial confidence that is necessarily used in this whole labyrinth of independent organizations is such that any change of policy affecting their possible prosperity would destroy the public confidence in the securities representing these enterprises.

There is no risk whatever in predicting that an agitation to revise the tariff, which always means to lower it, nobody knows how much, would cause a business disturbance, and probably a panic, in less than three months. Of course, the disturbance would be in proportion to the probability of the performance. The democratic campaign for the revision of the tariff and the crippling of corporations might not seriously affect business, because in the present state of that party there is no real probability that it could control the national policy. The senate, the house, and the executive are controlled by the republicans, and all these branches of government favor maintaining the protection to our domestic industries. So long, therefore, as they present a united front against any radical change of policy, business confidence will remain practically unchanged. But



if the administration party weakens on this point, and acquiesces in the demand of the anti-protection people for a revision, the bottom will necessarily fall out of the confidence in the protective policy.

Herein lies our present danger. When Mr. Roosevelt acceded to the presidency, he said privately and publicly, with all the emphasis of which he is such a master, that nothing should be done to disturb business confidence, and he emphatically said any tinkering with the tariff would meet his resistance. From his known courage, honesty of purpose and decision of character, that was accepted as a rock upon which all might safely build.

The people had faith that the president would stand firmly by his convictions; that no mere party expediency, boss influence, or political ambition could change his purpose. If he adheres to this determination, no business disturbance from political causes will be possible; but if he recedes from this position, and aids, encourages, or even acquiesces, in raising a tariff-disturbing issue, the worst may be expected. With the influence of the administration on the side of tariff agitation, the basis for tariff stability will be gone, and fear will take the place of business confidence throughout the country.

The notion seems to prevail throughout certain quarters that a revision of the tariff will not disturb business if it is done by the republicans. There is even danger that the president is lending himself to that delusion. The Iowa republicans have sounded that note, and administration influences and certain recent utterances of the president himself seem to favor it. Even the secretary of the Home Market Club, the great protection institution of Massachusetts, in a recent interview, favored revision "if the republicans do the revising." All this is dangerously weakening; it is not the result of sound opinion, but rather a yielding to the pressure of the enemies of protection.

Every business man knows that if the subject is once opened in congress, especially with the support of the administration and the clamor of the opposition, that no mor-

tal can tell how deep the knife will be inserted; and it is this very fear that will create the havoc.

Even such a pronounced advocate of tariff revision as the *Boston Herald* says:

"It is inevitably the case that uncertainty as to future conditions of a trade tends to make those in it much more cautious and conservative in the manner in which they carry it on, and an excessive caution is a deterrent rather than a stimulant to business activity; even a republican tariff revision would tend to temporarily, at least, depress business activity. . . . If by a removal of these duties these artificial conditions are changed to natural ones, the enormous profits upon operations thus far secured will no longer be obtained. The shares and bonds will immediately depreciate in value, and, as they are now largely carried upon margin or used in borrowing money as collateral, a panic in the stock and money markets will occur which will force all prices down, and for a time will lessen and possibly destroy that confidence which is the most pronounced ingredient of business prosperity. Business confidence is an exceedingly sensitive plant, and if it were known at the present time that the republican majority in congress were next winter to act upon the tariff law, we believe a sensible depression in business activity and prosperity would almost instantly be experienced. . . . But to those who have at heart the best interests of the American people, both now and hereafter, the fact that the taking of a necessary dose of medicine for a really serious disease produces a temporary nausea, furnishes not the least reason for refusing to take it."

This suggests the idea of the boy who liked the toothache because it was so nice when it stopped. The *Boston Herald* and its like are not to be criticised for holding this view, because they think our whole system of industrial policy is wrong, no matter if it does give prosperity and increase American wealth and progress out of all comparison with the rest of the world, and make our country the richest among the nations. Since in their view this came in the wrong way, it must be bad, and a little nausea like an industrial depression would be a good thing if it would only put our industries on a competitive level with Europe, even though it transferred a third of our business to foreign countries. All who want a business disturbance, and think we need to repeat the nauseating dose of 1893, should follow the

lead of the *Boston Herald*. But when the American people elected the present administration, they did not believe this theory. They believed in the policy of protection, and elected this administration in good faith, to stand by that doctrine.

In the absence of political disturbances, there are no economic reasons why we should have an industrial depression at this time, nor, indeed, why the present prosperity should not continue for many years to come. The disappearance of the abnormal demand arising from foreign wars, so far as this country is concerned, will be largely offset this year by the immense wheat and corn crops, which, according to government forecasts, will be among the largest ever known. This will have the effect in the first place of giving a large amount of business to the railroads and kindred industries, in itself one of the great forces in maintaining business stability. Again, the abundant corn crop will make corn cheap without impoverishing the farmers, and thus reduce materially the cost of fattening cattle, and so tend to lower the price of beef. This, together with the enormous crop of wheat, will enable the farmers to pay off a large number of mortgages and increase their expenditures for implements and farm improvements, and so stimulate domestic consumption.

If the political conditions can be kept free from disturbance, there is every reason to believe that the present prosperity will continue, and every year of its continuance will do much to strengthen the financial basis of all the newly-organized enterprises. But let the administration, with the aid of the opposition, enter upon a tariff revision agitation, and send distrust home to every enterprise that needs or anticipates expansion, and the bottom will fall out of our prosperity, and all the conditions of a first-class panic and industrial depression will be at hand. The responsibility is with the administration.



## ECONOMIES OF BRANCH BANKING \*

HORACE WHITE

There is a wide diversity of opinion in this country as to the advisability of branch banking, and this diversity exists largely among bankers themselves. . . . Nevertheless, I believe that it will come, because I believe that it will be economical and profitable to all banks in both city and country, and that it will extend and enlarge instead of crippling their business, and that after trying it they will wonder why they were ever opposed to it. It is a matter of history that when the country banks of New England were asked to redeem their notes at the Suffolk Bank in Boston, and to pay the Suffolk a small compensation for its trouble, they declared and sincerely believed that such a policy would ruin them. Yet, after a trial of the system, they found their credit so much improved and their circulation so much extended that nothing could have induced them to abandon it. So, too, I think that it would have been impossible for anybody to have told beforehand what would be the consequences and effect of branch banking. For my part, I know of no way to judge the future but by the past. I feel sure, however, that what has happened before will happen again under like conditions, and that what branch banking does in other civilized countries it will do here if the opportunity is offered. We had several examples of branch banking in our own country before the civil war."

[Mr. White here briefly describes the branch systems of the First and Second Banks of the United States, and of the State Banks of Indiana, Ohio and Iowa.]

The five groups of banks here enumerated had one hundred and one branches. They existed at various times from the foundation of the government to the end of the

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\*An address before the joint convention of the bankers' associations of Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma and Indian Territory, May, 1902.

civil war, during a period of great disorder in banking, amounting at times to financial chaos. There were five general bank suspensions from 1791 to 1861. Not one of these banks or branches failed during that period. Now the test of solvency is the supreme test of banking, and if we find a particular system that passes this test for three-quarters of a century, while failures of individual banks are frequent and disastrous, we may reasonably infer that this immunity is due, in part at least, to the system itself. This is not saying that, under the branch system, banks never fail. There have been two or three bad failures of such banks in Scotland, but we fairly infer that the people have greater confidence in a group of banks linked together and co-operating with each other than they have in the same number of banks separate from and competing with each other. Public confidence is the *sine qua non* of successful banking, and the system which best assures such confidence is the one which should receive our favor.

We will now glance at the experience of other countries, and first at that of our neighbors on the north. In Canada there are thirty-four banks with an aggregate capital of \$67,591,000, and a surplus of \$37,365,000. Thus the average capital is \$2,000,000 and the average surplus \$1,000,000 to each bank. No new bank can be established with less than \$500,000 subscribed, of which at least \$250,000 must be paid before beginning business. All of the larger banks have branches, of which there are 690 in the dominion, situated in 392 localities. Each bank is allowed to issue notes to an amount equal to its paid capital, but competition and the prompt return of the notes for redemption have always kept the circulation below the authorized amount. All banks are required by law to make arrangements to insure the par value of their circulation in any and every part of Canada, and for this purpose to establish redemption agencies at the chief city of each of the seven provinces and at such other places as may be determined by the treasury board. In practice the notes of the different banks are exchanged daily at the clearing-houses in the

larger cities. At other places they are exchanged between the nearest branches, and balances are paid either in dominion notes or by drafts on the commercial centers. There is, accordingly, no discount on any Canadian bank note in any part of the dominion.

Nor is there any discount on the notes of failed banks. The law provides for the protection of the note-holders (1) by giving them a prior lien on all the assets of failed banks, including a double liability of the shareholders; (2) by a bank circulation redemption fund contributed by all the banks, equal to 5 per cent. of the average circulation of each; and (3) by a provision that the notes of failed banks shall draw 5 per cent. interest from the time of default till public announcement is made of readiness to redeem them. There have been three bank failures since 1890, when these provisions of law took effect, but the note-holders lost nothing; nor did the other banks lose anything from the common redemption fund.

The Canadian system of branches tends to equalize the rates of interest in different parts of the dominion. A bank receiving deposits in Halifax, Montreal and Toronto may lend them the following day through its branches, and by the issue of its own notes, at Winnipeg, Vancouver and Victoria, the branches redeeming the notes by drafts on the head office. The rate of interest in the smaller towns of the West is only 1 or 2 per cent. higher than in the large cities of the East on the same kind of loans. To this equalization of the rate of interest both the branch system and the freedom of note issue contribute. Under the branch system in Canada, the parent bank is like a reservoir having pipes of different sizes running to different consumers, each of whom can draw as much from the general supply as he can advantageously use and give security for.

The country in which branch banking has received the highest development, however, is Scotland. There are ten banks in that country with an aggregate capital of \$46,000,000 and a surplus of \$35,000,000. The capital and sur-



plus, if equally distributed among them, would be \$8,000,000 each. They have altogether 1,065 branches. One of these banks, the Commercial, whose head office is in Edinburgh, has 139 branches, and thirteen of these are in the city of Glasgow. The Union Bank, whose head office is at Glasgow, has 143 branches, and ten of these are in Edinburgh. This system has grown up during the past 200 years to its present perfected state. It has met some disasters in that time, but comparatively few. There have been only three bank failures of any importance in Scotland—that of the Ayr Bank in 1792, of the Western Bank in 1857, and of the City of Glasgow Bank in 1878. All of these failures were due to speculations of a most disreputable kind, carried on with the money of the banks by the connivance of the directors.

By means of their branch systems deposits are secured from every nook and corner of the country, and capital is transferred easily and quickly to the places where the demand for it is the greatest. There is no hamlet so small that it cannot obtain banking facilities adapted to its needs. Whatever assistance banks can give to industry is available to the poor and to the rich on equal terms. In no other country, except, possibly, France, has the doctrine of equality in bank favors been carried so far. If I were asked to name the countries where the democratic principle has reached its widest application in the matter of loans and discounts, I should name those where the branch-bank system has reached its highest development, and has been pushed to the greatest extreme. And here Scotland would stand in the front rank. . . .

The circulating notes of the Scotch banks are exchanged daily at the Edinburgh clearing-house and settlements are made between banks by drafts on London. No deposit security for bank notes has ever been required in Scotland, but noteholders have a prior lien on the assets, and the liability of shareholders for note issues is unlimited. For these reasons the note issues of insolvent banks in Scotland are always accepted at par by the other banks, and

are never depreciated. Although deposits are received and loans are made at each branch, the branches pay out only the notes of the parent bank, which are redeemable at the head office. So it is necessary to have real money only in one place, instead of one hundred different places.

The Bank of France is required by law to have at least one branch in each of the eighty-seven departments into which the country is divided. It has now 392 branches.

. . . The rate of discount is uniform at the parent bank and all branches and offices. During recent years it has been usually  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 per cent., and is less fluctuating than in any other country. No paper is rejected on account of its smallness. Loans of five francs are not uncommon. In 1889 there were at the parent bank nearly 20,000 discounts of ten francs (\$1.93) or less each, and more than 1,000,000 ranging in size from 51 to 100 francs. . . .

The Imperial Bank of Germany has 320 branches. It has the right to issue \$110,000,000 of circulating notes regardless of its cash reserve. It may issue as many more as it has cash on hand, and as many above that figure as it chooses, by paying a tax at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum on the excess, until it has outstanding three dollars of notes to one dollar of cash. The latter is what we call "emergency circulation," and the bank has several times availed itself of its permission to issue it, to the great benefit of the business community, and incidentally of the imperial treasury. There is nothing in the branch-bank system of Germany, however, that calls for special attention. . . .

Congressman Hill, in the speech to which I have just alluded, presented figures showing the percentage of the cost of loans in banks of large and of small capital respectively; that is, the amount of expense that the banks incur on each dollar they invest in loans and discounts. Of course, the percentage of cost is much less in any large business than in a small one. In railroad transportation, for example, the percentage of expense grows less and less as the volume of traffic grows greater and greater, until

the full capacity of the road is reached, and the same rule holds good in banking. But nobody could have imagined so large a difference in expenses as Mr. Hill found to exist between different banks in this country. According to reports compiled by the comptroller's office, the percentage of expense to loans in ten large New York city banks was 1.68; in ten New England banks of \$100,000 capital each it was 3.94; in ten banks of \$50,000 each in Iowa and Nebraska it was 5.33, and in ten banks of \$50,000 each in various parts of the country it was 7.00 each. The wonder is that these banks of \$25,000 capital can exist at all, when it costs them seven dollars on each one hundred that they lend for one year. If all the banking business in the United States could be done at the same percentage of cost, as the ten large banks in New York city, Mr. Hill shows that the annual saving to be divided between the banks and their customers would be upward of \$53,000,000 in a single year. Of course, no such economy is possible under any conditions of banking over a widely extended territory, but it is certain that the percentage of expense could be largely reduced if branches were allowed. In fact, it is this saving of expense that has caused the great extension of branch banking in Canada, in the British Islands, and on the continent of Europe. . . .

An objection against branch banking, urged with some plausibility at the present, is that, if it is permitted, all the banks will be consolidated into a gigantic trust, so that nobody can get any money except on terms dictated by a few powerful magnates. In reply to this we might point to the example of other countries where branch banking has full swing. In Canada, in Great Britain, in France, and in Germany there is not the smallest sign of a "money trust," although trusts and monopolies in other trades are plentiful. On the contrary, the sharpest rivalry exists in the competition for deposits and for loans and discounts, and the rate of interest there tends downward rather than upward. This happens, too, in countries where note issuing is a monopoly by law. It is a monopoly in France, yet that is the country



which has the lowest interest rate, and in which the rate is most uniform to all classes of borrowers in both city and country. Note-issuing is almost a monopoly in England and Germany, yet we never hear of anything like a money trust in either country. The truth is that money cannot be monopolized. The money in the banks does not belong to them. It belongs to the depositors for the most part. The trust companies, the savings banks, and the private bankers would no doubt be glad to discontinue the lending of money, or to put up the rate of interest on loans. They would cheerfully fill the vacuum; so, too, would the agents of foreign banks. . . .

Branch banking and asset currency are grouped together by Mr. McAshan. Although there is no necessary connection between them, I acknowledge that they are very helpful to each other. They fit together very nicely, and I am in favor of both. However useful branch banks may be as channels for the distribution of capital, they are still more so as instruments of credit. A Scotch bank with one hundred branches does not divide its capital into one hundred parts. It lends its notes at the branches and redeems them at the head office. Local redemption is dispensed with, and is, in fact, quite unnecessary. Economy of capital, of time, and of labor are here conjoined, but this would not be possible without practical freedom of note issue. A Canadian bank may receive deposits in Halifax to-day and lend them in Winnipeg to-morrow, because it can issue its notes promptly at the latter place. If it were obliged to wait till it could transmit the money from Halifax by express, time and interest would be lost. If it could not issue its own notes without first buying bonds, lodging them in a government office, and "taking out" currency, the entire profit of the loan might be dissipated.

The principal defect of our national bank system is the rigidity of its note circulation. In a broad sense, the volume of notes is regulated, not by the wants of trade, not by the amount or kind of commercial paper offered for discount, but by the market price of United States bonds. Even if the

bonds were sufficient in amount and satisfactory in price, the note circulation would still be lacking in the elasticity which should characterize a good system. By elasticity is meant the capacity to increase or diminish in volume in accordance with the needs of the community, and simultaneously therewith.

Note issuing is, to the banker, simply a question of profit. When he buys bonds and deposits them in the treasury as security for circulation, he virtually buys notes from the government; and his question is whether he can get more profit by such an investment than by using his capital in other ways. His gains arise only from the average amount of his notes which the public will take and hold. There will always be some notes in transit to Washington for redemption, and thence back to the bank; and after they come home they will remain unused for awhile. During the period they are unproductive capital. Therefore, the banker will take from the government no more notes than he thinks he can keep in circulation. He will hold none for emergencies.

In every country the alternations of seed-time and harvest have a marked influence upon the currency movement. During the spring and early summer, when the farmers are engaged in planting and tilling their crops, they usually incur debts to the country merchants for household supplies, and the currency movement is then sluggish. When harvest comes, a great deal of work must be done within a short space of time, and this requires a large amount of currency to pay the wages of laborers and to meet the various claims against the farmers which then mature. These several demands are imperative. They come simultaneously in large sections of the country. Every other demand for currency is secondary to this, since the only time to harvest the crops is when they are ripe.

The annual crop movement in Canada is marked by an expansion of the note circulation, while no such thing takes place in the United States. What occurs among us is a movement of the currency itself from one part of the coun-

try to another, or from the commercial centers to the farming districts, and a reverse movement after the bulk of the autumnal grain and cotton is sold and housed. This money has to be carried long distances and guarded at considerable expense and with loss of interest, and these costs fall upon the agricultural community, since the work of moving must be compensated out of the things moved. In Canada it costs nothing to keep bank notes in the bank's vaults from one crop-moving season to the next. Accordingly they are always on hand at the places where they are wanted.

Our national bank currency not only fails to meet the varying demands of the seasons, but fails to keep pace with the nation's growth in population and commerce. The volume of bank notes reached its maximum, \$358,742,034, in 1882. Then it began to shrink. In 1892 it had fallen to \$172,683,850, or about one-half the sum outstanding ten years earlier. In 1893 a rise began and continued till 1900, when it was accelerated by a change of the law, which authorized an addition of 10 per cent. to the currency issuable on the security bonds. The net amount was thus brought up to \$323,863,597 on September 30, 1901, which is \$30,000,000 less, however, than the amount in circulation twenty years ago. Now a fresh decline has begun. Banks are allowed to retire their circulation at a rate not exceeding in the aggregate \$3,000,000 per month. Nearly \$17,000,000 has been retired during the six months ending March 31, 1902.

Within a comparatively brief period the bonded debt of the United States will in all probability have been wholly redeemed and cancelled. It is not likely that the nation will continue for an indefinite period to pay interest on a debt of which it might easily pay the principal. Such a policy would be unjust to the taxpayers, and could not fail to meet public condemnation. So the problem is not merely how to make note issuing under the present system a little more profitable, but how to keep the system going at all. It cannot be done, except by using other securities than United States bonds. To use inferior securities,



like municipal, or railroad, or "industrial" bonds, would require the exercise of discrimination on the part of public officers in the selection of them, and would thus open the door to political influence in making the selection. Moreover, the best judgment of the most impartial comptroller of the currency would at times be at fault, as was frequently the case under the state systems of bond-secured currency before the civil war.

How to meet the approaching crisis is the chief banking problem of the present day. Any plan for obtaining a real credit currency—a currency based upon the assets of the bank—must have regard to the traditions, habits and experience of the American people. The smallest change consistent with the end to be achieved will be the one most likely to succeed. . . .

The advantages of branch banking are briefly these:

I. Other things being equal, two banks joined together are stronger than one, and three are stronger than two. Branch banking is not a guarantee against bad banking and internal rot, but it is a protection against accidents and external calamities. It is another illustration of the familiar proverb, "In union there is strength."

II. For this reason the public have greater confidence in a union of banks than in the same number of banks taken separately. Branch banking would, therefore, improve the credit of the banks so allied, and increase their deposits. This advantage would accrue more particularly to the branch bank, or the small country bank taken into the system, than to the parent bank in the city.

III. Branch banking would reduce the total expense of banks, and this saving would, in the long run, be shared with the bank's customers in the form of lower rates of interest.

IV. Branch banking would tend here, as in other countries, to uniform rates of interest between cities and the rural districts.

V. Branch banking has the advantage that it can be extended to places too small to support a regular bank,

which requires a full complement of officers and a reserve of coin or greenbacks. Offices, or agencies, can be established at places which are now wholly destitute of bank facilities, but where some deposits could be obtained and some safe and profitable business done, if the public were assured that the parent was a strong institution.

VI. Branch banking affords facilities for communicating knowledge of the relative needs of business in different places and for responding to them. Knowledge of the demand and supply of money would be quickly conveyed from the branch at the small town to the parent bank in the city, and funds could be quickly transferred to the branch, either from the parent bank or from any other branch where the demand was less pressing, and vice versa.

These are the principal reasons why I commend branch banking to the gentlemen who have done me the great honor to listen to this address. Another reason is that branch banking is bound to come, and that you cannot stop it.

## THE MISUSE OF INJUNCTIONS

The temptation to misuse the power of injunction as a means of restraining the action of strikers is very great. Striking workmen are often injudicious, very frequently crude and ignorant, but the bulk of the trouble comes from the fact that judges, the legal profession, and, to a large extent, the press, are at heart opposed to trades unions and to their right to conduct strikes.

It has taken three-quarters of a century of struggle against persecution, as well as prosecution, for organized labor to get even a tacit recognition. It was not so long ago that the abstract right of organization was denied. It was called "conspiracy." That much, however, has been lived down, and it is now generally admitted that laborers have the undoubted right to organize and to strike if they so desire. Since the courts, the press and employers are forced by dint of logic, experience and public sentiment to concede that much, they reach out with an eagerness that shows their true animus to put every obstacle in the way of the laborers realizing any practical results from organization.

For a long time the "black list" was used as a means of defeating the laborer's right to organize. This was a conspiracy of employers to deprive the laborers of the means of earning a livelihood. It was this really cowardly method of warfare which led to the introduction of the walking delegate. Laborers found that it was unsafe for any wage-earner to be a spokesman for their cause without being the victim of enforced idleness, or converted into a tramp, and sometimes a criminal.

In order to secure the right of free speech, workingmen decided to employ some of their number to be their spokesmen on all occasions where controversy with employers was involved. These men had nothing to fear from the employers, because they were beyond their reach. They were in the employ of the union, and could afford, like everybody



else, to serve their employers. Of course, some of these walking delegates were not persons of high character, they became offensive, a little like the political bosses, and were not always free from corruption.

It may be frankly admitted that the walking delegate has been a severe thorn in the side of employers. He has been a menace and often a nuisance; but it should not be forgotten that he is the direct product of the persecuting tactics adopted by the employers themselves. He is the creature of their methods, and for his infliction they have themselves only to blame. The spirit which adopted the black list and created the walking delegate is now using the power of injunction to accomplish the same end, the defeat of united and organized action by laborers. The spirit in which the injunctions are issued, the treatment of the laborers when in court, all show the same animus. If this continues, something will have to be done to restrict the power of the courts, or the right of free speech on labor matters will soon be gone.

The latest case of this kind, and not the least aggravating, is the recent decision of Judge Jackson, in Parkersburg, West Va. (July 24th), where he sentenced six workmen, one for ninety days and the others from five to sixty days each for contempt of court. Of what did this contempt consist? Simply in delivering addresses to the miners on strike in West Virginia. In delivering his decision, Judge Jackson is reported to have said:

"While I recognize the right of all laborers to combine for the purpose of protecting all their lawful rights, I do not recognize the right of laborers to conspire together to compel employees who are not dissatisfied with their work in the mines to lay down their picks and quit their work without a just or proper reason therefor, merely to gratify a professional set of agitators, organizers and walking delegates, who roam all over the country as agents for some combination, who are vampires that live and fatten on the honest labor of the coal miners of the country, and who are busybodies, creating dissatisfaction among a class of people who are quiet, well disposed, and who do not want to be disturbed by the unceasing agitation of this class of people. In the case we have under consideration, these defendants are known as professional agitators, organizers and walking delegates.

They have nothing in common with the people who are employed in the mines of the Clarksburg Fuel Company. The strong arm of the court of equity is invoked in this case, not to suppress the right of free speech, but to restrain and inhibit these defendants, whose only purpose is to bring about strikes by trying to coerce people who are not dissatisfied with the terms of their employment, which results in inflicting injury and damage to their employers, as well as the employees."

Since when was Judge Jackson's consent necessary "for all laborers to combine for the purpose of protecting their lawful rights"? That right is theirs without the consent of Judge Jackson. But his spirit of mind and aversion to laborers having their rights, were shown by the characterization of these defendants by the judge as "vampires that live and fatten on the honest labor of the coal miners of the country," etc. Besides being undignified, unbecoming a judge, and intolerably mean, this is untrue. The walking delegates, or labor speakers, are not "vampires." They do not "fatten" on anything. Usually they are poor, and are no more entitled to be thus classified than is Judge Jackson and a very large proportion of his profession. Such language reflects a quality of character that should disqualify a man for sitting on the bench in this country.

But why were these men held in contempt? Because an injunction had been issued forbidding the laborers or their friends from doing anything to help or encourage the strikers. In addressing the strikers, therefore, these men were in contempt. But in contempt of what? An injunction forbidding the exercise of the right of ordinary free speech. And why? Because the coal mine owners in West Virginia had asked that this right should be suppressed, since its exercise in this case was contrary to their interests. But the suspension of the right of free speech for such a reason will bring its own reward. As surely as the black list created the walking delegate, this arbitrary suppression of the laborers' right of free speech, when their industrial interests are involved, will bring a reaction.

Injunction is an old and wise principle, when impartially and properly used, but its use as an instrument to

suppress the right of free speech in labor controversies is really converting the court into an enemy of labor, the result of which will surely some day be bad for the courts and worse for the country.

There are certain newspapers whose antipathy to the efforts of organized labor is so constitutional that they may be relied upon to eagerly defend all efforts to use the authority of the courts or the prerogative of the president to restrict, or on any pretence suppress the laborers' freedom of action in case of strikes. The *New York Press* has hitherto not been in this group, but has stood for the principle of equal rights for laborers and capitalists. It is therefore with great surprise that in this case it is so vigorously defending Judge Jackson's decision, without even criticising his unseemly language in describing labor speakers as "agitators," "vampires," "busybodies," etc. In one of its emphatic editorials on this subject, using capitals for emphasis, it says:

"No injunction, of course, until it becomes permanent, compels any one to forego his rights or to abandon entirely a course because somebody else objects. What it does do, when there is question as to the infringement of any one's rights, is to hold an existing situation in a given status until the rights of those concerned are DEFINITELY DETERMINED UNDER THE LAW. Then the law finally fixes the relations of the disputants under their rights of law. This has been done, the objectors to "government of injunction" have discovered, with the same effect on capital as on labor. And the discovery has gagged their filthy mouths."

The *Press* has evidently deluded itself into the notion that this is a fair statement, and puts the injunction against labor speakers on an exact par with the injunction against corporations, but really it is too bright and able a paper long to remain under this delusion.

Of course, a temporary injunction is intended only to hold the situation "until the rights of those concerned can be definitely determined under the law," but in this case there was no such purpose. The judge knows this, the parties applying for the injunction know it, and the *Press* ought to know it. If there had been an intention of making



the injunction temporary, with a view of "determining the rights of the laborers under the law," a hearing would have been had in a few days. That this was obviously not the intention of the court, is shown by the fact that the hearing is fixed for next November, a date long after the trouble is likely to be ended. This talk about a temporary injunction against labor is the veriest subterfuge, and in this case the evident intent was to make any hearing on its merit impossible. If this injunction policy is to be sustained by such quibbling as this, the freedom of speech for labor is gone whenever it serves the purpose of employers to suppress it.

What right has Judge Jackson, or the president of a coal mine, or the editor of a newspaper, or anybody else, to say who shall address a meeting of workingmen? The miners have just as much right to ask their fellow-miners in other states to address them as to ask one of their own immediate number. What has the fact that the speakers do not work in the local mines, or that they are not miners at all, to do with their right to speak? The strikers have the right, and might often very wisely invite, not merely outsiders in their own craft, but people outside their industry altogether, economists, publicists, congressmen, senators, lawyers, or anybody else, to address them. If this decision of Judge Jackson's should become an accepted rule of conduct, the president of the United States could be enjoined from addressing the miners.

The arrest of Debs had the excuse of being preceded by violence; in the contempt case in Ann Arbor the flimsy claim was made that the railroad was subject to the interstate commerce law, and, being in the hands of a receiver, was under the direction of the United States court, but in this case no such far-fetched excuse existed. There was no violence, no destruction of property and no danger to persons; but because some speakers from Pennsylvania addressed the strikers, after an injunction against all attempts to influence or encourage the strikers had been issued, they were imprisoned for contempt of court. Instead of extending constitutional rights to the Filipinos, this looks won-

derfully like extending the martial law of the Philippines to the United States.

Encouraged by the way the public press received Judge Jackson's sentence, a week or so later Judge Kellar issued, in quick succession, two injunctions of a still more sweeping and caustic character. They enjoined President Mitchell and other officers of the United Mine Workers' Union from doing anything to aid the strikers. This was intended to prevent Mr. Mitchell and the other officers from delivering addresses, and also to prevent the distribution of food supplies among the strikers. The mine workers' union had made extensive arrangements to purchase food supplies and were shipping several carloads a day to the scene of the strike. They had hired quarters for the distribution of these supplies. This threatened to be a very effective means of prolonging the strike, and the Gauley Mountain Coal Company applied for an injunction, on the ground that the mine workers' union was a secret society, conspiring to injure the coal company's property and business. The injunction named the officers of the union who had charge of this peaceful, inoffensive, but very effective method of conducting the strike.

It is creditable to the yellow journals throughout the country that they broke out in violent protest against this scandalous misuse of the power of injunction. The public indignation thus created had a manifest effect on Judge Kellar's state of mind. A few days later, when John Richards and other strike leaders were brought before the judge, for having violated his blanket injunction, he did not call them "vampires," "busybodies," "loafers" and other abusive names, and sentence them to jail. On the contrary, although Richards admitted that the mine workers' union was aiding the strike and furnishing supplies to the strikers, and that he has been instrumental in organizing marching and camping parties, public meetings, etc., the court released the men on their own recognizance to appear on August 12th. Thereupon Judge Kellar delivered an explanatory preachment, in which he assumed such a friendly tone and

bearing, and exhibited such sympathetic interest in the strikers, one might almost have thought him their spiritual adviser.

In this explanation he said many things wholly inconsistent with his previous attitude, and some that were essentially silly. He gave several illustrations to show that strikers may do almost anything individually. They may approach non-union workers individually on the street, or even visit their homes, for the purpose of inducing them to quit work or to join the union, but they must not discuss the subject of a strike in public meetings. Among other things he said:

"A small assemblage of persons seeking peacefully and peaceably to gain a lawful and righteous end may do things which a large body of men with ostensibly the same purpose have no right to do, for the reason that that body of men may over-awe, and does over-awe in many instances, other people who have rights that must be respected."

According to this, small meetings are permissible, but large ones are dangerous and may be prevented. This, indeed is a new theory. If approaching an individual on the street, or in his home, is not intimidation, then surely public meetings are not. Public meetings are necessarily impersonal. By their very nature they must take the form of a discussion, an appeal to public sentiment and the sense of right. To repress the right of public meetings is manifestly to restrain the freedom of public speech.

To prevent mobs from congregating in the streets, loitering in the public highways, or trespassing on private property, is clearly within the bounds of maintaining social order, but to prevent the discussion of any question whatever in public meetings, however large, is an unwarranted interference with the right of free speech in this country, with which no judge, under any pretext, should be permitted to trifle.

It will be observed in this whole West Virginia case that no violation of the law took place. The men did nothing illegal; nothing for which, by trial under the law, they could be punished in the least. The court issues an injunc-



tion against the laborers doing almost everything that is necessary to gain their legitimate object, and unless they obey they are sentenced to a fine or imprisonment, at the discretion of the judge. For what? Not for having violated any law, but for contempt. Thus the court converts a perfectly lawful act into a crime in order that it may inflict a penalty.

We can afford to take many chances with an indiscreet use of freedom rather than risk the danger of arbitrary restriction. No country has ever suffered from freedom of speech, but the human race has endured untold oppression for the want of it. There may be indiscretion now and then; foolish things may be said; but public opinion and free criticism can be trusted to counteract any serious effects; but once let it become an acknowledged principle of action that any interested party who is opposed to free discussion may by aid of the courts suppress it and the heart of American liberty is gone. The unseemly and unmanly conduct of Judge Jackson in passing sentence on six laborers who had violated no law shows that judges can no more be trusted with arbitrary power than can capitalists and political partisans. The safety of all lies in the freedom of all. Civilization and popular institutions are safer with free speech, even for demagogues, than with the unlimited power of injunction in the hands of such guardians of the constitution as Judges Jackson and Kellar.

## THE RULE OF FORCE

ALBERT R. CARMAN

It is easy to believe at the afternoon sitting of the league for the suppression of something popular that the world is ruled by show of hands and not by arms; but that only goes to prove the need of another league to bring about the mental invigoration of people who believe pleasant things easily. The world is ruled by force; and even the most innocuous league expects that the things it "views with alarm" will eventually have to reckon with the police force.

This fact has a direct bearing upon certain questions concerning which people are prone to permit themselves the pleasure of loose and exalted thinking. There is, for example, the franchise—"the right of franchise," as we are fond of saying with full-mouthed emphasis. Discussions go on in plenty in which our title to a vote at the annual elections is spoken of as if it were one of the fundamental rights of every human being, ranking with "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." One could almost come to expect, after a prolonged immersion in a peaceful American community, that babies would be born with a folded ballot paper in one hand and a pencil in the other.

A broader rendering of the same high principle makes the woman suffrage propaganda so irresistible, logically—though it is less successful with that silent, inner logic which man guards so carefully against the accidents of argument. Woman suffrage may not make much practical headway, but it wins every pitched battle of the platform where the disputants begin with the assumption that the franchise is a "right" possessed inalienably by every man. Reasoning from that as a basic principle, it is impossible in justice to deny to women the right of voting on laws by which they are to be governed, of helping to decide what kind of schools their children shall be taught in, and of joining in the expenditure of their own taxes. Parroting

that this is a man's privilege proves nothing, unless a reason is given for it; and what reason can there be given when the franchise is made a birth-right, and when its essential universality is preached triumphantly in the face of expediency and patriotic doubt?

But the franchise is not a right; it is an expedient. Within the national ring fence—as without it—force is still king; and the strongest party gets its way. When a dispute arises in a savage tribe over which of two claimants shall get the throne, they fight it out; and the victorious party inaugurates its candidate. When a similar dispute arises in a civilized community over who shall be premier or president, they do not fight it out. Civil war disturbs business, destroys property and kills off a certain number of the victors as well as the vanquished, to say nothing of incommoding those not particularly interested. So they agree to count noses, assuming that the larger party will be the stronger. And that is all the franchise amounts to—a reasonably fair method of counting noses.

It is not a substitute for force, but a substitute for civil war as a means of measuring force. Force still rules. Superficial thinkers sometimes object that we let the cripple vote when he could not fight. We let the cripple vote on both sides, the assumption being that about as many will vote with one party as with the other. Then it is said, in a specific instance, that the minority party would stand a good chance of winning, if it appealed to arms; and the fact that it does not do so is taken to prove that it is the “snow white ballot” and not the machine gun which rules a civilized nation. But this objection ignores the fact that there is a large party in the community which is more opposed to civil war than to any other possibility that the election in question might involve; and it would go with the majority party in keeping the peace. Where the issues which hang upon the election are so important that the majority are ready to risk civil war rather than acquiesce, they do it; and we need go no farther than the great American civil war for a case in point.



It is clear then that the franchise is valuable only as it serves as an accurate measure of the force which is behind any party or proposition. If it cannot be depended upon to do this, it will inevitably be superseded by something else. That this happens, the unhappy southern states again furnish proof. Give the negro the ballot, and the white man takes down his rifle. This is very shocking, but nothing is to be gained by blinking the brutal truth. Of course, force rules in the northern states as well as in the South; only in the South a distinct element, which could not exercise force in proportion to its numbers, was admitted to the polling booth. "The counting of noses" thus became no test of the local force behind this or that party; so force got itself counted in another way.

The conditions existing in the southern states brought out this display of force much sooner and with more determination than an equal dilution of the franchise might have accomplished elsewhere. The community was still unsettled after a vast debauch of obvious force-rule during the war; there was comparatively little business for force to upset, and very little likelihood that the forceless majority party would make a fight for it anyway; and there was the natural antipathy of the ex-slave owner against being outvoted by his late slave. Consequently, consciously superior force was less long-suffering than it might generally be; but the example serves to demonstrate what will follow the discrediting of the ballot box.

The position of the woman suffragist now becomes clear. She is crying for the moon. She is asking for what she cannot possibly get. With all the good will in the world, man cannot give her the ballot; he can only, in his chivalrous good nature, let her spoil it as a measure of force. It is not a question of intelligence, as advocates of woman suffrage contend, but of fighting power; and when we are invited to contrast the lady lecturer with the hod-carrier, we may accept the invitation with the proviso that they are to be pitted against each other in the trenches, and not in the debating society. At the present time, the ballot

box makes a workable force-meter, recording the amount of force on each side; but if we run a stream of non-force ballots through it, the record becomes unreliable. When we are told that woman suffrage obtains in certain communities without bringing in mob rule, we are only told that it has not yet arrayed the ballot box against obvious force on a question worth fighting over.

This principle of force rule comes into play very plainly in relations of conquering powers toward the conquered peoples; though a notion that government by force is barbaric and uncivilized, leads highly humane and civilized communities to cheat themselves pleasantly with pharisaical pretences at obtaining a measure of consent from the governed. But this is only a masking of the battery which will belch death if the subject peoples take too seriously the recognition of their "rights," with which their conquerors have salved their highly-organized consciences. Britain rules India, as the United States will rule the Philippines, by force; and the only difference between the Hindoo and the Filipino who does not like it, and the British subject or American citizen at home who disapproves of the government of the day, is that the force which rules the former comes from outside his national boundaries, while that which rules the latter lives in the same street with him. The human instinct is very strongly in favor of the latter kind of force rule; probably because experience has taught us that it is far the easier to overcome by persuasion and far the gentler in dealing with us while it rules. But to call it anything else than force rule is to soothe ourselves with a sweet delusion.

The question, then, of what measure of self-rule is to be allowed the conquered people is simply one of expediency. If the conqueror recognizes for a moment any right on their part to rule themselves, he would withdraw his forces and pull down his flag. But, as a matter of fact, he is a representative of superior force; and he rules the spoils of his prowess precisely as the lion rules the jungle. But he has a finer nature than the lion—and a keener intelligence.

The lion cares little for the agonies of his victims; and he knows of no way of keeping his kingdom quiet except by fear. The British and American peoples want to see their vassal kingdoms happier and more prosperous for their rule; they cannot bear the thought of suffering inflicted upon any creature; and they have learned that self-interest will breed more loyalty than fear. So they are both kinder and shrewder than the lion; but let a hill-tribe or the denizens of a Philippine swamp endeavor to escape that kindness, and the lion will show his teeth.

Will the world ever escape the rule of force? It is pleasant to say "yes," but it is harder to see how. The rule of wisdom has an attractive sound, though the discord of oligarchy may be heard through it; so that the rule of all the people, guided by wisdom, has a pleasanter cadence. And there is no reason why this should not be coincident with the rule of force. As a matter of fact, are we not approaching it now by the only sure road? In France, in the United States, in the self-governing British communities, in a growing measure in Germany, are not a majority of all the people taken to represent superior force; and would it not, in almost any conceivable instance, be practically impossible for the minority to appeal successfully to arms against this theory? That weighty class which dislikes civil war beyond most things would be solidly against any attempt to destroy the peaceful and orderly method of measuring force by "counting noses." Of course, "the rule of all the people" will be secure only when a majority of all the people, no matter how made up, will have at its command superior force. We would seem to have reached that state in Britain and her self-governing colonies, and in the United States; but are we quite sure that England and the military class would permit themselves to be out-voted on some vital question of empire by the lesser partners? And did no one hear any talk of resistance in case Mr. Bryan had been elected with a "free silver" Congress in 1896?

But this will not be the end of rule by force. It will only be the complete democratization of force. Force was



once the monopoly of the man in steel armor; then gunpowder came and the franchise was broadened to so many as could purchase guns. Governments equipped their soldiers with guns; and the French Revolution showed that the soldiers would on occasion vote against the government. The conditions of the new world required that every citizen have a gun; from which manhood suffrage followed as an inevitable corollary. France, and not a French king, made her army; so France controls it. The German emperor and his army had much to do with the making of Germany; so there is a power in Germany distinct from the German people. But in a community where every man is a soldier, or where an overwhelming majority stand ready to fight for peace, no matter how good cause the minority may have to appeal from the verdict of the ballot box, popular rule coincides with force rule; and the last possible step in the evolution of government has been taken—unless there is something better than democracy and something stronger than force.

Thus is natural law leading us to the highest altitudes of freedom and equal citizenship and assured peace, of which the doctrinaires dream. The franchise itself will become in some sense a "right" when it is co-equal with citizenship, and overwhelming force is committed beforehand to endorse the verdict of the ballot box. But it will remain a "right" only so long as we keep faith with the force which accepts its orderly arbitrament, and do not attempt to juggle with the instrument by which it consents to be measured. The day we try to outwit force by stuffing the ballot box with votes which lack its virile stamp, we need not be shocked if natural law reminds us of its existence. Yet we have built up more than one graceful system of ethics on the supposition that the rule of force was buried in one red grave with barbarism. The occasions upon which we successfully supersede natural law with a daintier substitute, made either in the library or the chapel, are about as rare as those upon which we oppose it with satisfactory results.

## IS THE COAL STRIKE A CONSPIRACY?

The strike of the anthracite coal miners is one of the most extraordinary industrial suspensions that has ever occurred. There are many features of this strike that raise the question of good faith. In the first place, it is a significant fact that practically all the anthracite coal mining is in the hands of the railroads, and these railroads are in thorough unity of action. They not only act upon the same lines, but they confer and act together by agreement, which is neither more nor less than a definite association. For all practical purposes, this places the entire anthracite coal supply under the control of associated corporations acting together and enjoying exclusive franchises as common carriers.

Of course, the digging of coal is a private enterprise, the same as the making of shirts, and it properly may be said that when it does not pay to make shirts, the manufacturer has the right to quit making them. So, likewise, when it does not pay to mine coal, the operators have a right to refuse to mine it. But that does not state the whole case. In the present state of society coal is a domestic and business necessity, therefore the supply of coal is a matter beyond the mere private concern of the coal operators. The people are interested, financially as well as socially, in this matter, because it is vital. To cut off the supply of coal so as to paralyze business, and subject the people to individual hardship, and a large amount of privation, is equivalent to creating an industrial depression, which is a positive infliction upon the whole people. No private interest ought, nor will it long be permitted to needlessly, not to say purposely, inflict that kind of injury upon the public.

It is of course a part of the spirit of freedom and individual enterprise that the use of property shall be left to the control of those who own it. Self-interest, in the long run, is a sufficient incentive to impel the most economic use of productive property. This is the great principle which permeates the whole fiber

and structure of society; but there are times when short-sighted people think it to their advantage to violate this principle. In their selfish blindness, they imagine that the ownership of property carries with it the right to use it to the public injury, if it will yield a benefit to them. This is where they make a fatal mistake, and prove that they are too small for their opportunity. Mistaken acts of this kind have frequently been the cause of radical changes in the political and industrial laws and rights of society. When the people realize that a private right is becoming a public injury, that right is taken away on the very highest principle of civilization, viz.: that the public interest is greater than any private right. Against this power, there is no appeal. The right of property, the right of freedom, and even the right of life, are ultimately subordinate to this law of social welfare.

A sad feature of the present coal strike is the increasing evidence that the railroad corporations are committing the fatal mistake of being entirely oblivious of, or what is even worse, purposely indifferent to, the public interests involved. From the outset of the strike, these corporations have acted in complete concert, and their every movement justifies the suspicion that they were disposed to provoke rather than avoid the strike, and since the strike was inaugurated, they have shown a disposition to continue rather than stop it.

In the first place, there was absolutely no reason for a strike. It will be remembered that, at the outset, the laborers made no demand whatever; they simply asked that a conference be held to arrange the schedule of prices and other conditions for the ensuing year. That course had previously been adopted. At the close of the strike in 1900, they agreed to that method. It was very satisfactory; and the agreement terminated on the 1st of April, 1902. A very sensible, commonplace act, therefore, was for both parties to meet, and either confirm the old agreement, or arrange a new one for the future. The request for a conference was an ordinary, rational procedure, which nothing but a disposition to create a disturbance could refuse. Yet the



railroads all rejected the proposition, and while the president of each railroad made a personal reply, the tone, and very largely the language, of the communications were identical, showing that the letters had all been written or revised by the same hand. In these letters, railroad presidents refused to confer with the men through their organization, while claiming to be willing to "deal justly and fairly by them (the laborers) and give every man fair compensation for the work he performed." In short the operators insisted upon being sole arbiters of both sides of the contract. In accordance with this idea, a few days later they posted notices at their respective collieries, stating that "the rate of wages now in effect will continue until April 1st, 1902, and thereafter be subject to sixty days notice." This was well calculated to create a rupture, and it is difficult to interpret this action in any other light than that it was purposely designed to produce that result. Had there been the slightest element of fairness, or respect for the common right of the laborer to make a contract, or the desire to maintain industrial peace, such arbitrary action could not and would not have been taken. This left the laborers no alternative but to forego all right eventually to participate in bargain making, regarding their own conditions, or to make a specific demand and strike for it.

The outcome of all this must have been obvious to every fair-minded man. Mr. Mitchell had but one course open to him, viz.: to report the result to the men. At the convention called to hear this report, the miners formulated certain demands, which were equivalent to asking for a reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day, without any reduction of wages. The increase of wages asked for by the piece workers was only equivalent to the reduced time. If there had been the slightest disposition on the part of the corporations to adjust matters, the strike could then have been avoided.

For several weeks the press has been demanding that the operators try to open their mines and produce coal. The intolerable nuisance of soft coal in the large cities, and

the constantly rising price, has made this demand grow stronger and stronger, while the attitude of the corporations has been in absolute defiance of every public interest and convenience. They have acted exactly as would a heartless conqueror who had absolute power over his victims. They have assumed the impudent, insolent air of "what are you going to do about it?" Never before have employers conducted a strike with such defiance of all the principles of fairness and public interest. There must be a motive for all this. It is beginning to be manifest that, instead of losing, the corporations are making money by this infliction upon the public. There appears to be a conspiracy among the corporations to use their control of the coal supply, to bleed the public well-nigh to exhaustion.

The Boston *Advertiser* goes so far as to announce editorially that it has information conclusively proving that the corporations have made overtures to the workmen to continue the strike until the first of September, promising to make liberal concessions, if not to grant all the demands, if they will hold out until that date. The object of this is to so deplete the anthracite coal market as to warrant a rise in the price of coal, and keep it fabulously high during the whole winter, and so make millions out of the transaction. In an editorial on August 11th, among other things, the *Advertiser* said:

"President Mitchell, of the strikers, has in his possession certain assurances, which he has never given out to the public, but which he has had almost from the beginning of the trouble. It was because of these assurances that he went into the strike which at the time seemed so foolish and so certain to fail. He is within about three weeks of his goal. If he holds out until the week after labor day, he has the assurance that the trust will gracefully come down."

One week later, August 18th, it repeated this charge in more definite terms, thus:

"It is a pretty hard thing for a charge to be made, deliberately and on the basis of convincing proof of a confidential character, that the coal operators did all they possibly could to coax or to force the unions into a strike; but the proof of this assertion is now so strong that the charge is not only justifiable, but cannot truthfully be denied. We

make the statement advisedly that when President Mitchell, of the miners' union, started in on this strike, it was with what amounted to an absolute certainty that if he would take the public responsibility for the strike, and would keep it up until labor day, he would be allowed to gain his point."

The Boston *Advertiser* is an eminently respectable and financially responsible journal, and can hardly be assumed to make such a definite charge without some foundation. It ought to be compelled to sustain these assertions with the facts, or pay a severe penalty for libel. The definite deliberation with which it has made and repeated this charge is really a challenge to the corporations to demand the proof, which it intimates it can furnish. If there is any truth in the *Advertiser's* definite charge, these corporations are in a high-handed conspiracy against the public, which, if proven, should not and probably would not go unpunished. It seems terrible to believe such a thing possible. One hesitates to think of responsible managers of large corporations, enjoying exclusive franchises from the public, being guilty of such treason against society; yet on what other theory can their conduct be explained? It is now nearing the end of August. The price of coal has risen to ten dollars a ton and is still going up. Why did they not sell the coal supply on hand at the old price? It had involved no increased cost to them, except that incurred by the strike. But no; they have taken every advantage the situation affords to oppress the public. Now it is said that Mr. Morgan will soon settle the trouble, but there is no reason to believe that Mr. Morgan can settle it without some concession, and on that basis settlement has all along been easy. But if Mr. Morgan had the power to settle this strike, why did he not settle it long ago? He could have cabled the word from London as easily as he could say it in New York.

We are reluctant to believe that this is really an operators' and not an operatives' strike. The acceptance of such a view is to lose confidence in the public spirit and common integrity of some of the great business managers of our



time. Let the people once be convinced by reasonable proof that this strike has really been an organized effort by the corporations to "work the public," and the worst in the way of caustic and repressive legislation may be expected. The circumstances, in many respects, almost parallel those of the Homestead strike. In that case, the Carnegie corporation forced a disagreement, which was shown by the fact that all the preparations for the strike, such as engaging the Pinkerton police, etc., were made beforehand. In that case, too, Mr. Carnegie, the man who could have stopped it all with a word, was abroad. He refused to open his mouth, but when it was over said "he would rather have lost his right hand than that it should have occurred." But the world holds him guilty. He will not live long enough for it to be forgotten, and no number of public libraries can relieve him of the responsibility for that calamity.

If it is true that a simple word from Mr. Morgan would end this strike, then we have a dangerous demonstration of the one-man power. If these corporations continue the policy employed in the coal controversy, they will work more damage to capitalistic enterprise than the socialistic and Bryanite propaganda could accomplish in a generation. Nothing has happened in the last quarter of a century so calculated to inspire the conservative public with the idea of public ownership as the short-sighted, uneconomic policy and anti-public spirit shown by the corporations in this coal strike. By their arrogant folly, they are laying the foundation for their own destruction.

## "IN DESPERATE STRAITS

"The American people have learned the benefits of that legislation [the Dingley tariff] and are enjoying the prosperity resulting from it. They are not likely to invite a repetition of the financial disasters and industrial paralysis that followed the revision of the tariff by the followers of Cleveland and Vilas.—*Senator Fairbanks of Indiana.*"

"This is an exhibition of mental and moral pauperism. It shows a mind empty of living political ideas and content, when pressed for an argument, to repeat the outworn cry that the protected interests used a generation ago and have used ever since as often as tariff reforms have been suggested.

"It reveals a moral sense shriveled up and deadened, because the utterance is outrageously and notoriously false. No financial disaster or industrial paralysis resulted from the enactment of the Wilson tariff in 1894. The country was already suffering from financial disasters and business alarms occasioned by the Sherman silver coinage act of 1900."—*New York Times, July 24th.*

This is an example of what overworked egotism can do in blunting the moral sense and destroying the capacity for ordinary accuracy and manly criticism.

Senator Fairbanks may have been too sanguine in assuming that "the American people have learned the benefits" of protective legislation, and that "they are not likely to invite a repetition of the financial disaster and industrial paralysis that followed the revision of the tariff by the followers of Cleveland and Vilas." There is even danger that in all this Senator Fairbanks may have been mistaken, but he was not deliberately saying what he knew to be untrue. At the very worst, his statement is only a little too optimistic an estimate of the memory and common sense of the American people. But the statement that "it reveals a moral sense shriveled up and deadened, because the utterance is outrageously and notoriously false," correctly characterizes the above editorial. When *The Times* says "no financial disaster or industrial paralysis resulted from the enactment of the Wilson tariff in 1894," it is not literally falsifying dates, but it is doing what is morally worse,

adopting sneak-thief reasoning. It is intentionally perverting the truth by means of a quibble of words.

Of course everybody knows that the "financial disaster or industrial paralysis" came before the Wilson tariff was enacted, and *The Times* cannot help but know that the industrial crash was directly caused by the Wilson tariff nevertheless. It was not what the Wilson tariff did, but what it was feared it would do, that caused the financial and business disaster. It was the election of Mr. Cleveland, and not what his administration really did, that created the havoc. Although the country was in a high state of industrial prosperity in 1892, in less than two weeks after Mr. Cleveland's election business reverses began. Contracts for supplies of machinery and new factories were cancelled by the score, and before the day of his inauguration the country was in a high state of industrial fever. Banks were calling in loans and contracting their credits to every business which was directly or indirectly affected by the tariff. In three months after Cleveland's administration was formed the country was in the midst of a financial panic, with the greatest number of bank and business failures that had ever been known in any single six months of the nation's history. Nothing had yet been done by the new administration. The Wilson bill had not even been drafted, but it was expected; the people imagined the worst, and it had all the effect of reality. Nobody knows better than *The Times* that this is characteristic of business depressions. They always follow a disturbance of confidence. The moment Mr. Cleveland was elected, the confidence of everything that depended on the tariff was destroyed, and, consequently, there was a general scramble of both bankers and business men to get under cover, which meant to withdraw all their accommodations and credit from this class of business concerns.

This was one of the strongest arguments presented by *The Times* against the election of Mr. Bryan in 1900. It declared that his very presence in the white house would have the effect of a financial disturbance, because it was believed that he would use all his power as president



to favor silver, and perhaps pay the national obligations with the white metal, which would have the effect of driving gold out of use. This argument was based on the theory that the business interests would anticipate Mr. Bryan's policy, and, in their efforts to escape the bad effects, would bring on a panic. And the reasoning was sound. It is probably what would have occurred; it is exactly what did occur on the election of Mr. Cleveland in 1892, and nobody knows this better than *The Times*.

Therefore, to say that "no financial disaster or industrial paralysis resulted from the enactment of the Wilson tariff in 1894," is a dishonest quibble. The same dishonesty characterizes the statement that "the country was already suffering from financial disaster and business alarm, occasioned by the Sherman silver coinage act of 1890." The maltreatment of the truth here is more bungling and less plausible. It even lacks the merit of sharp dodging. If there was any alarm created by the passage of the Sherman silver act of 1890, why did not some symptoms of it appear before the night of the election in 1892? Why did it wait two years and suddenly burst upon the country within less than a week after Mr. Cleveland's election was known? It will also be remembered that the first thing Mr. Cleveland did was to call a special session of congress to repeal this very silver coinage act, but that had no perceptible effect upon the industrial depression, which continued until 1896.

If the depression was caused by the Sherman silver coinage act, why did it not cease when that act was repealed? Simply because these events were not related as cause and effect.

The monumental fact that will stand out through all the history of this dark page of our nation's experience is this: That immediately upon Cleveland's election the financial panic and business depression began, and they continued until he went out of office. With McKinley's election, business revival and prosperity started as suddenly as adversity did with Cleveland's election. The Dingley bill had

not even been drafted. Nobody knew what it would contain, but everybody knew it would afford protection to American industry. That gave a double basis to business confidence. Manufacturers, and especially protected manufacturers, could get credit. Banks, and all financial and industrial institutions, had faith in the future. Capital came from its hiding. Old businesses were revived and new ones created, labor was employed, wages rose, and prosperity started on its way throughout the country, and has remained unchecked to this day. It was not so much what the Dingley bill did, but what it was believed it would do, that gave the first impulse to business confidence and revival; and, in like manner, it was not what the Wilson bill did, but what the business world believed the Cleveland administration would do, that gave us the disaster.

It will be remembered that this is the same *New York Times* which, only 24 days earlier, printed a statement, purporting to be the first-hand facts from a Cuban planter, in which it falsified the market price of sugar, in order to show that the planter was losing money. It published a flaming editorial, entitled "Our Cruelty to Cuba," proclaiming that this Cuban planter had lost \$7,500 on his year's crop, whereas he could not have made less than \$2,100, and, exercising good business judgment and selling his product at ordinary prices, he could have made from \$5,000 to \$12,000 profit. And this falsifying of the market price, to create an inflamed public opinion in the case of Cuba, was a part of the same misrepresentation as the above editorial.

This systematic and persistent lying, under the guise of superior political morality, is being done for the sole purpose of breaking down our protective system, to the injury of American industry and the benefit of importers. *The Times* has indeed furnished its only proper characterization. These performances do plainly "reveal a moral sense, shriveled up and deadened, because the utterance is outrageously and notoriously false."

## "A COMING MAN"

HENRY W. WILBUR

French-Huguenot and Scotch-Irish blood mingled in the ancestry of the man who is the subject of this sketch. They were two virile and liberty-loving races, combining courage, determination and an ability to do things, which qualities appear in a marked degree in their descendant, Robert M. La Follette, governor of Wisconsin. He was born in Dane county in 1856, the year when the republican party fought its first national battle, with John C. Fremont as its standard-bearer.

At eighteen young La Follette left the farm, determined to secure a university education. He had neither the money to pay his way through college nor influential friends to help him, but was able and willing to work and paid his expenses by teaching, editing the college paper and performing other useful service. His college course ended in 1879, during which he captured more than his usual share of class honors, in spite of the difficulties under which he labored. He then studied law, was admitted to the bar, and was soon after elected district attorney of his native county, which position he held for two terms.

At the age of twenty-nine he was elected to the national house of representatives, taking his seat in the forty-ninth congress as its youngest member. His service in that body covered a period of six years. Speaker Reed appointed him a member of the ways and means committee, and he drew several of the schedules of the McKinley tariff bill.

In 1896 Mr. La Follette was the republican candidate for governor of Wisconsin. It was the discovery made in this campaign of the wickedness of machine politics, rendered possible by the caucus and convention system, which made him a convert to the doctrine of direct nominations, of which he is now the most conspicuous advocate in the country. He failed to secure the desired nomination,



but not in the least daunted, prepared to again measure strength with the forces of the political machine now arrayed against him. In a series of masterly addresses he attacked the caucus and convention system, and advocated a more equal scheme of state taxation. The year 1898 found him again a gubernatorial candidate, with the principles mentioned above as the cardinal doctrines of his platform. While the principles which he advocated were adopted as platform pledges by both the party conventions, Mr. La Follette was again worsted by his opponents. In 1900 he made a third appeal to the people of the state, appearing as the champion of principles which had been adopted by the republican party in Wisconsin. This time the state convention, composed of 1,067 delegates, unanimously nominated him for governor. He was elected by over a hundred thousand majority, receiving the largest vote ever cast for an executive in that state.

Mr. La Follette believes that the platform utterances of a political party, instead of being smart phrases to catch votes, are really pledges to the people, to be put in practice and enacted into law by the people's representatives. With the assembling of the legislature in 1901, a carefully drawn direct nomination bill, practically embodying the governor's views, was presented. This measure met with the intense opposition of the so-called practical politicians, and after much sparring, and a good deal of alleged conniving and corruption, this bill was side-tracked to make way for what was known as the Hagemeister substitute, which was passed by both houses and was sent to Governor La Follette for his approval. But he promptly vetoed it in a state document, which Ernst Christopher Meyer, in his book, "Nominating Systems," says "exceeded in intelligence, vigor and moral earnestness any executive message which we have read in recent years." The vetoed bill was really a cunning attempt to throw dust in the eyes of the people, but it did not deceive the wide-awake man who sat in the governor's chair. With the session of 1901, the legislative contest for direct nominations was temporarily post-

poned. The battle was then taken by Governor La Follette to the hustings.

He believes in the moral and political integrity of the people, and that when any principle of decent government is properly presented to them it will meet with their approval. They apparently met the governor more than half way on this proposition, and sustained him in the republican convention of this year, in which he was renominated, still standing for the definite governmental reforms to which he has given allegiance these many years.

It has to be admitted that a faction of the republican party in Wisconsin is opposed to Governor La Follette personally, and to the principles of tax and primary election reform for which he stands. In the hope of defeating the governor, and his principles which have been repeatedly endorsed by the republican party in convention, the opposing faction organized what is called "The Wisconsin Republican League," a political combination which Mr. Meyer in his book says "is in striking resemblance to Tammany Hall." But this league utterly failed to unhorse Mr. La Follette, or seriously interfere with his renomination.

It is claimed by the governor and his friends that the most offensive lobbyists in the legislature against direct nominations and other reforms which have become accepted republican doctrines in Wisconsin were federal office-holders. This condition led to the vigorous demand on the part of Wisconsin republicans that there shall be no interference from Washington with local politics, and that loyalty to the party's principles and platform pledges must be the qualification for party preferment of any sort in the state. It is this position which leads certain newspapers, especially in the East, to raise the false alarm that Governor La Follette and his followers are waging war on Senator Spooner. Nothing of the kind is contemplated or desired. The governor is not to blame that the machine politicians whom he opposes, and who have from the start opposed him and the reforms for which he stands, attempt to hide from the popular fury under the senator's wing. Supported by

the republican rank and file, Governor La Follette is determined to reform the primary election system in Wisconsin, and he will not allow himself to be held responsible for what may happen to people who get in the way of that popular purpose.

It has long been Mr. La Follette's well-formed conviction that guarding the primary sources of political conduct is one of the most important functions with which legislatures in our time have to deal. His speeches and documents on this subject are models of concise and clear statements of what to him is demonstrated truth. The following paragraphs very briefly develop his argument, and show the character of his style in dealing with the matter of direct nominations:

"Under our form of government the entire structure rests upon the nomination of candidates for office. This is the foundation of the representative system."

"If the voter is competent to cast his ballot for the candidates of his party, he is competent to express his choice in the same way at a primary election for the man he wants nominated on that party ticket. As a citizen and taxpayer it is his sovereign right, and any law which compels him to hand that sovereign right over to some other man, who must hand it over to some other man, who may do with it as he pleases, is a bad law and cannot stand."

"I say that a political convention is no place in which to discharge with fidelity the responsibility and trust of making nominations of candidates for office. It is never, under any circumstances, a deliberative body. Its work is hurried, its business transacted in confusion and in the midst of great excitement. It is the storm center of a political tempest and not a tribunal which would settle the most important business of representative government."

A man of both physical and intellectual vigor, Governor La Follette is one of the most forceful and interesting state executives in the whole country to-day. Should he be successful in the election this year, and that success be followed by the enactment of the La Follette reform principles into law by the next Wisconsin legislature, he would become a force to be reckoned with in the national politics of the near future. The governor of Wisconsin, politically and nationally, would seem to be a "coming man."



## COLORED MEN AS COTTON MANUFACTURERS

JEROME DOWD

The opinion used to prevail in the South that the negroes could never be worked in a factory for the reason that the hum of the machinery would put them to sleep. Hence until recent years no effort was made to employ them in manufacturing enterprises. Their range of activities was limited chiefly to the plough, the kitchen, the barn-yard and the wash-tub.

About 1880 there was a rapid development of tobacco manufacturing in North Carolina, Virginia and Kentucky, and negroes were freely employed to meet the increased demand for labor. At the present writing probably two-thirds of all the employees in tobacco factories are negroes. About fifteen years ago negro labor began to be extensively employed in cotton seed oil and fertilizer mills, then springing up all over the South. More recently, negro labor has been employed in a silk factory at Fayetteville, N. C., and in a hosiery mill at Columbia, S. C.

The first experiment with negro labor in a cotton factory was made about three years ago in the city of Charleston, S. C. The outcome was unsatisfactory and the factory soon closed down. However, this test was not made under favorable circumstances. The factory was situated too near the water. It is a notorious fact that negro labor is unreliable along water courses. Next to a watermelon, a fish is the dearest thing to a negro's heart and palate, and where the supply of fish is abundant, the matter of living is so cheap and easy that the negro is indifferent to regular employment. Besides, in Charleston there are too many street parades, camp-meetings, excursions, festivals and cheap theatricals. It is difficult to keep the negro steadily at any sort of work where such events so largely fill up life.

A more decisive test of the fitness of negro labor for cotton mills is now being made at the Coleman cotton mill

of North Carolina. The mill is owned and operated by negroes. The site is in the Piedmont section of the state, one mile from the city of Concord. The capitalization of the mill is \$100,000, of which \$66,000 has been paid in. The subscribers to the stock are scattered throughout the state and number about 350. The subscriptions vary from \$25 to \$1,000, and are payable in installments.

When the mill started up in July, 1901, all of the employees were inexperienced. Mr. A. G. Smith, of Massachusetts, the superintendent, and the only white person connected with the work, had to train each employee for his or her task.

The Coleman plant consists of 100 acres of land, one three-story brick building, 80x120, two boilers of 100 horsepower each, and a complete modern outfit of looms, spindles and other machinery necessary for spinning and weaving. The weaving capacity is 40,000 yards of cloth per week. A dozen or more very substantial tenement cottages have been erected and rented to the employees.

The writer has visited the mill and viewed the operatives at work, and was agreeably surprised to find that only one of the operatives was inclined to go to sleep. The superintendent expressed himself as entirely satisfied with the progress of the workers, and stated that he felt confident that the enterprise would prove a financial success. Several of the operatives, he said, had been "caught napping," but, he added, that such occurrences were not uncommon even among white operatives in Massachusetts. The operatives, so far, have been very prompt in coming to work, and have shown no disposition to drop out.

Among the directors of the mill are several of the most noted negroes of the state; for instance, John C. Dancey, ex-collector of customs at Wilmington, now register of deeds of the District of Columbia; S. B. Pride, a professor in Biddle University at Charlotte, N. C., and E. A. Johnson, dean of the law department in Shaw University at Raleigh, N. C.

The promoter and leading spirit in this enterprise is

the secretary, W. C. Coleman, who is the richest negro in the state. He owns about 100 tenement houses in Concord, and also owns tracts of land in eleven of the surrounding counties.

This cotton mill venture will be watched with interest, and if it succeeds, no doubt other mills will be started up with negro help. The operatives in the Coleman mill are paid about one-half as much as the same grade of workers would receive in Massachusetts. The capitalists of the South will have a rich harvest if they can successfully operate with this cheap labor.

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OF COURSE Mr. Edward Atkinson is in favor of free sugar. In his accustomed role of "expert upon everything," he has been explaining how it would be much better for this country to let Cuba produce all our sugar. Among other things he said: "In the condensed milk industry alone, one single establishment is reputed to consume more than the entire produce of all the beet sugar factories in this country, estimated at 150,000 tons."

The San Francisco *Chronicle*, which appears to be very much better informed on the subject, makes poor Mr. Atkinson look like a wanderer in the wilderness. It points out that the beet sugar product of 1901-2 was 163,126 tons, and not 150,000 tons, as Mr. Atkinson says, and that at the very lowest price 150,000 tons of sugar would be worth \$12,000,000, whereas the total value of the entire condensed milk product in the United States, in 1900, was only \$11,888,792. Thus, according to Mr. Atkinson's story, a single condensed milk factory paid more for sugar than the entire condensed milk product of the country was worth.

Mr. Atkinson had better quit guessing. Such blunders are apt to spoil his reputation, without even helping his free trade cause.



## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

"There is no tariff reform without tariff agitation."—*Nashville American*.

"There will be no tariff agitation without widespread business disturbance."—*New York Sun*.

THE *Sun* is right. Does the administration want business disturbance?

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THE bulletin published by the department of labor in Washington, for July (which has just come to hand), contains the result of an extensive investigation of beef prices by government experts, and the facts given sustain the position taken by this magazine on that subject. These facts make the hubbub about the beef trust look like a political sensation, which much of it really is.

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THE CHICAGO *Inter-Ocean* has not been heard from on the sugar question since it had to "face the truth." Neither have the Boston *Herald* and the New York *Times*, which were guilty of the same offence against honorable journalism. Of course no defence of their misstatements was possible, and silence is better than subterfuge; but honorable integrity would have called for a manly apology to their readers.

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IN TAKING a firm position "against any meddling with the tariff" at present, Secretary of the Treasury Shaw has grievously disappointed the New York *Times*. For this, Secretary Shaw is entitled to the congratulation of every business man and laborer in the country. The more seriously he disappoints the *Times* on this matter, the more will he be entitled to public honor and confidence. If the administration will only take its cue from the secretary of the treasury, all will be well, both for the party and the country. Of course, the *Times* will mourn, but all who are interested in national prosperity will rejoice. Not that we love the *Times* less, but national prosperity more.

AT LAST the child labor question in the South is really taking on serious proportions. Not only are journals like the New York *Evening Post* devoting much space to the serious discussion of the subject, but the legislatures and many of the newspapers in the South are taking a very strong stand on the subject. The democratic convention of Texas has put the following plank in its platform: "We demand a law prohibiting the employment of children under twelve years of age, in factories using machinery." The democratic convention in South Carolina made a similar platform utterance. This shows that the movement for restricting child labor in the southern factories within the limits of humane conditions bids fair soon to be an accomplished fact, thanks to the public spirit and efficient work of the women's clubs in the southern states.

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IT IS REPORTED that Armour, Swift and the Schwarzschild and Sulzberger company, the great meat packers, are about to merge into one colossal concern. The immediate motive for this is said to be to escape prosecution on the charge of "conspiracy in the restraint of trade."

This might easily have been anticipated, as a result of the administration's policy of chasing monopolies. Somebody seems to have made the president believe that he must compete with Bryan and the democrats in attacking the trusts, the "bad-dog" name of all large corporations. Accordingly, Attorney-General Knox has been turned loose on the "beef trust," and as the surest way to escape prosecution the great meat concerns are all going to become one corporation. Thus the anti-trust policy of the administration has stimulated monopoly, the very thing it was intended to prevent, as mere "playing to the galleries" often does.

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THE LEGISLATURE of the commonwealth of Australia is taking great interest in the industrial question. A board of labor commissioners having been established, an excellent work is being undertaken in the line of investiga-

tion and treatment of practical industrial questions. A feature of the labor department is the publication of a monthly labor bulletin. Judging from the first two numbers, the bulletin is likely to be an excellent medium of reliable economic information from Australia. Heretofore, it has been very difficult to obtain the most meager facts from any reliable source regarding Australian economic affairs. It is therefore with great satisfaction that we welcome the appearance of the Australian labor bulletin, and that satisfaction is increased by the fact that Commissioner Schey, under whose charge the work of the bureau is conducted, is a thoroughly able, honest, painstaking student of rational and practical economics.

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IN A RECENT address at Chautauqua, Mr. Bryan made this remarkable statement:

"I hope you will give me credit for possessing a higher ambition than that to be satisfied with the office of president of the United States. I am too democratic to covet an ambition that only a few in one generation can share. I prefer the honor of being a private citizen, an honor greater than that of a king."

This isn't creditable. No one in his senses, not even Mr. Bryan's own children, would for one moment believe that he prefers the honor of being a private citizen to that of being president. Of course he does not. He has been a private citizen for fifty years, and has nearly shaken this country to its center twice in trying to secure the honor of being president. Now, what is the use of a man of Mr. Bryan's capacity descending to such shilly-shallying as this? Why not either ignore the subject or be manly enough to talk straight about it?

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IN ITS EDITORIAL on Senator O. H. Platt's public life, the *North American Review* (for August) says:

"Senator Platt was author of the resolution known by his name, which was passed by congress at the outbreak of the Spanish war, to the effect that, "The United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said



island (Cuba) except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and the control of the island to its people."

This is an entire mistake. Senator Platt's name is in no way connected with this resolution. It was a joint resolution introduced into the senate by Senator Teller, of Colorado, and was finally passed April 20th, 1898. The only matter in relation to Cuba with which Senator Platt's name is connected is an amendment to the army appropriation bill, stipulating certain conditions upon which the president would be authorized to withdraw American troops from the island. This was practically made a part of Cuba's constitution, and is known as the Platt amendment.

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FOR THE FIRST few months of the new administration in New York city, the people were really disappointed with the results. It was difficult to see that anything worth while was being done, but during the last few weeks signs have begun to appear that genuine reform is going on in several important departments. Colonel Partridge, commissioner of police, for instance, has been the subject of impatient criticism, but he has now evidently got down to business. Despite the difficulty of getting rid of the most objectionable officers on the police force, Colonel Partridge has beheaded one or two, and has now reduced 106 detective sergeants to patrolmen.

If this good work goes on, it is reasonable to expect that, by the end of the Low administration, the police force and many other features of New York city administration will have been put on a much sounder and cleaner footing. Thorough reform of these departments cannot be accomplished in one or two years, but if the present work continues, an excellent beginning will have been made with sufficient success for the public to see the real benefits of an honest, clean and ultimately efficient municipal administration in New York city, a thing despaired of twelve months ago.

THE POSITION taken by this magazine, in doubting the stories circulated regarding the ruin and poverty of Cuba, is being sustained by the facts as reported in the daily news from Cuba.

On August 1st, Garcia Montes, secretary of finance, in his statement presented to the Cuban cabinet, showed that the public expenditures for July were \$1,236,850, as against the average monthly expenditure under General Wood's rule of \$1,534,404, a saving of \$297,554 a month. The receipts of the month were \$1,552,653, leaving a balance on hand July 31st of \$1,061,156. This gives the lie to much of the stuff that has been printed, editorially and otherwise, about the Cuban government being financially crippled, and in danger of being bankrupt by the prostrated condition of business.

Another piece of significant evidence in the same line, comes in the announcement that the great New Orleans sugar machinery and mill supply firm of Haubtman & Loeb has just purchased a large sugar plantation near New Orleans. These purchasers have given notice of their intention immediately to dismantle the magnificent sugar house on the plantation, and send the machinery to Cuba to be used in a new sugar factory there. Of course this is being done because it is more profitable to produce sugar in Cuba than in Louisiana. Will not some administration organ or orator explain to President Roosevelt the motives which will impel capitalists to move their machinery to and build factories in a country where ruin is the only thing in prospect? It is difficult to say whether partisan prejudice or habitual lying is the greater vice.

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IN THE DEATH of Dr. Van Buren Denslow, every cause of human improvement lost a friend. In many respects Dr. Denslow was an exceptional man. He was a keen student of public affairs, foreign as well as domestic. He was in active journalism during the war, and took part in public discussion of the great questions during the reconstruction period. He was political editor of the Chicago

*Tribune*, associated with Horace Greeley on the New York *Tribune*, and editorial writer on the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*. For many years he was one of the prominent figures of the country in protective tariff discussions, frequently debating with Professor Sumner of Yale, Perry of Williams, and others, and in this he was very much at home, being thoroughly conversant with the industrial experience of the country and the doings of other countries as well. In 1888, he published a large volume of over 700 pages, on "Principles of Economic Philosophy," and for some years he was a contributor to this magazine. On the question of banking he was especially able and resourceful. While very familiar with the literature of economics and the theories of the different schools, he was particularly old-fashioned in his idea of wages, regarding which he accepted the quantity, or purely demand and supply theory, rejecting the cost of production element. The influence of this theory upon his thinking led him, as it did Francis A. Walker, to accept the sixteen to one notion of the free coinage of silver.

Dr. Denslow was a man of wide learning, great facility of expression, an indefatigable worker, a voluminous writer and excellent speaker, but lacked intellectual anchorage. He contributed something valuable to all the good movements of his time, but devoted himself to no one thing sufficiently to make his exceptional ability tell with full effect. He was the antithesis of the man with one idea. He was full of ideas on a multitude of subjects, and he freely gave them to the world. Personally he was as generous as he was mentally diffusive. Dr. Denslow was born in Yonkers in 1833, and gave society nearly fifty years of active, helpful service.



## THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers to them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

### QUESTION BOX

#### The Use of Gold and High Prices

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir.—Realizing your extensive studies in the economic field, I take the liberty of asking you what is the cause of the present rising prices. My personal belief is that the value of all commodities is moving upward because of the induction of gold into circulation. Our western farmers all have a large amount of money in their pockets; that is, a large amount for them as compared with their condition in former years. Our small western banks decline to accept deposits, for they say their money vaults are already overflowing.

It costs 33 1-3 per cent. more to live now than it did five or six years ago. Why are not wages rising in proportion?

If the induction of gold is causing this extraordinary economic development, where is the movement to end if the mining of gold keeps on in its present extensive manner? Must there be demonetization of gold? Then what?

I should be pleased to hear from you on these points, either by means of public article or private letter. I think we are approaching the danger line somewhere.

Indianapolis, Ind.

P. D. M.

That the induction of gold into circulation is the cause of rising prices is the reverse of all experience. If a change in the value of money affects prices at all, an increase in the value of the standard will tend to lower, not raise, prices, because the more valuable the coin the more it will buy and consequently the cheaper will be the goods.

The chief complaint of the farmers and silver people in the campaign of 1896, was that the low price of wheat was due to the high value of money. They demanded the free coinage of silver because that would give cheap money and consequently high prices.

Whatever may be the cause of the present high prices, they are not due to the induction of gold into circulation. The high prices now prevailing are chiefly due to the change of economic conditions affecting cost of production.

Take the high price of beef about which so much is being said, as recently explained in these pages.\* The real cause of the high price of beef is the scarcity of cattle, and the exceptionally high price of corn on which a large portion of cattle are fed. In the case of iron and steel a multitude of causes affecting the cost of production are clearly observable. Prices have not risen on all productions. Cotton cloth, furniture and clothing have risen but slightly and in many instances not at all.

Our correspondent asks, why are wages not rising? Wages are rising. True, they have not risen as promptly as prices, in fact they never do throughout the country, because they always come from the result of a special demand from the laborers, and the laborers never all make a demand at once. It is a great mistake, therefore, to assume that wages are not rising.

Our correspondent asks, where is this movement to end? It is to be hoped that it never will end, for so long as there is prosperity and progress there will always be an upward tendency of prices in some industries. In others, where superior machinery is being established and competition becoming normal, prices will tend downward, but if prosperity continues, which is the all important thing, wages will continue to advance. There can be no serious approach to the danger line so long as corporations act honorably with the public and deal fairly with the laborers,

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\* See article on "The Beef Trust," July, 1902.

allowing their employees the same rights as they themselves enjoy to organize and promote their own interests.

The one thing most to be feared at this moment is a disturbance of the tariff policy and an attack on corporations. If the administration and the leaders of the republican party are weak enough to be dragged into an agitation of these two subjects, they may easily disturb public confidence and give us a business depression, and then the danger line will be near.

The reason for that is very clear; wages in general always follow the cost of living of the people receiving them. It is for that reason that in any general change in wages and prices, wages are the last to rise and the last to fall. The prices begin to rise immediately with the returning prosperity. It was not until the increased prices began to affect the cost of food and house rent and other supplies, making a perceptible impression upon the cost of living, that the laborers began to demand an increase in wages, but they did begin to demand that increase in less than a year after prices began to rise, and they have kept on demanding it.

The coal strike is a striking evidence of that fact. On the first of August the painters of New York as a result of a short strike received an advance from \$3.50 to \$4.00 per day. The iron workers have been increased twice since the rise of prices began. Five thousand conductors and motormen employed on the traction line in Philadelphia have recently received a ten per cent. increase. The cotton operatives of New England have received a ten per cent. advance; the structural iron bridge workers in and around Pittsburgh have received an increase of twenty-five per cent., and a reduction of hours. The flax workers of Paterson, N. J., just received an increase varying from five to ten per cent., according to the scale. Quite recently the United States Steel Corporation advanced the wages of some fifteen thousand employees ten per cent. without being asked to do so. The workers in the rolling mills



throughout the country have also received an increase of wages during the last few months.

The truth is that wages are rising in different degrees, according to locations and industries, all over the country, and have been for the last two years. Wages do not rise like prices, at one stroke.

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### The Black List

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In labor discussions much is said about the "black list." What was it, and what happened to a man who was "blacklisted"? W. C.

The black list was an agreement among employers to refuse to employ an objectionable laborer, the objection generally being that he was a prominent member of the union, and a leader in voicing the demands of his fellow-men for shorter hours or more pay or some other advantage. It was called the black list because it was a list on which all the names of the too active laborers were placed, and a copy of which was in the possession of overseers in the different factories.

This method was extensively employed in New England, conspicuously in Massachusetts. It came into active operation during the agitation for the ten-hour law in that state. All who addressed meetings or showed an active interest in bringing about the ten-hour law were blacklisted; that is, their names were placed upon this list and sent around to the different corporations and they were unable to get work.

We have personally known a great many whose names have been sent throughout New England, and they have tramped from place to place, and when they gave their names they were told there was no opportunity. In many instances they went under an assumed name, and when their real names were discovered they were discharged. After the passage of the ten-hour law in 1874 this black list system was used against prominent members of the union or strikers, strikes being of frequent occurrence from 1870

to 1890. What happened to the man who was blacklisted was that he could not get work, and he was practically driven either from his own industry or from the community. It was a conspiracy among employers to starve every laborer who took an active part in any movement for the improvement of his craft.

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### The Citizen and an Opposition Party

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I am wondering, since reading the article in GUNTON'S MAGAZINE for August, just how badly a man should want a "strong opposition party." Do you mean to imply that he should want one badly enough to occasionally vote against his own party in order to build up an opposition strong enough to keep his own party out of mischief?

F. E. K.

There should always be an opposition party strong enough to keep the other out of mischief, and it is clearly the duty of the patriotic citizen to encourage by his vote, if necessary, such opposition party. Not merely because his own party is strong, but because by its abundant majority it is getting into mischief and becoming indifferent to the best interests of the public and to its own principles. This is really the case with the republican party to-day. There would be great danger to the country in handing over the administration to the democratic party as at present led and organized, but it is clearly in the public interest that the leadership and organization of the democratic party should be raised to a higher level. This would stimulate the republicans to do their best, and would diminish the danger of transferring, if necessary, the government to the democratic party. The fact that the government cannot, without danger to the nation, be intrusted to the democratic party, is a public misfortune. It tends to lower the ideals and weaken the political morals of the republicans, and thus lower the political standard of the whole country.

## BOOK REVIEWS

STUDIES IN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ETHICS. By David G. Ritchie, M.A., LL.D. Cloth, 238 pages. The MacMillan Company, New York.

The "studies" composing this volume were originally delivered as lectures before certain ethical societies in England, the author being an English university professor.

In the chapter on "Social Evolution" we have an attempt to show that human society has developed along the same line, and largely in obedience to the same laws that have governed the growth of individuals. In this connection the author claims that industrial and commercial competition is analogous to the individual struggle for existence, and we are told that workingmen have progressed and practically bettered their condition by struggle—in fact that nothing short of an industrial war has produced that organization among them, so necessary to personal and social betterment.

In his biological illustrations Dr. Ritchie seems to get away from Darwin, the founder of the evolutionary faith. Darwin claimed that instinct and heredity in birds and animals counted for skill, and that a young bird built its first nest as well as it did those to which it brought a larger experience. Dr. Ritchie tells us that "young swallows do not build so expertly as older birds." This little discrepancy between the teacher and the disciple, however, does not destroy the argument that human beings progress by experience, and learn wisdom by the things they suffer.

The book before us contains a chapter in which the matter of equality is very intelligently treated, and the humane doctrine that we are not justified in abusing people of inferior development because of their unfortunate condition is very clearly stated. A philosophical appreciation of the function of desire in the work of progress permeates this book. It is plainly shown that men do not grow ethically save as they desire better things. This being so, it is



manifest that opportunity for improvement and relief from grinding toil are essential conditions in the progress of the race. Therefore the real helpfulness of the man of large intellectual and moral culture does not consist in his getting down to the level of his submerged brother, but in his helping the man of low degree up to a higher level. The case is thus stated by Dr. Ritchie: "If the man of scientific or literary attainments or the experienced politician goes and becomes a farm hand, and lives as such, he may benefit his own muscles, his own digestion and possibly his own soul; but if he helps to secure for the toiler more leisure and those educational opportunities which make it possible to use leisure rightly, he will benefit a large number of human beings now and in the future." He might have added that such service may in the long run tend to spiritual growth quite as much as some of the efforts put forth by theologians to save human souls, individually or collectively.

The chapter on "Civic Duty and Party Politics" is withal so sensible and informing that we may well overlook the little taint of English egotism which is displayed. Whether the English form of representative government is the best under the sun is open for argument, but the general appeal in this chapter for the discharge of civic duty, and the exhibition of civic interest, is as good as a sermon, and well worth heeding. There is a suggestion of a practice which has been hinted in this country, and that making the exercise of the suffrage on the part of the citizen compulsory, and Dr. Ritchie would make it as compulsory as jury duty. This opens up the question whether the careless and incompetent citizen might not better be an inoperative shirk than an active sham. In our country, however, it seems to be quite as much the habit of the intelligent and well-equipped citizen to shirk the duties of the suffrage, as of the less virile among our voters.

The chapter "1792—Year I" almost seems like an attempt to glorify the French revolution; in any event it does place that outbreak in the front rank of the influences which

determined nineteenth century political progress. Still there is a recognition of the fact that it is more statesmanlike to prevent revolutions than to invite them. We are also told that they can only be prevented "by every citizen helping to reform abuses and by keeping on the alert to prevent them accumulating." It is probably true that he would be a dogmatic philosopher who in the light of the present would refuse to see and acknowledge any good results from that disturbance in France, which produced a revolution in a measure so senseless and heartless that it literally "devoured its own children."

In the main the book before us keeps out of the pitfalls of extreme socialism, although there is a slight tendency to confound what is really protective legislation with what is called socialistic law making. The factory and labor laws of England and America, which simply aim to protect men, women and children in the enjoyment of natural rights and opportunities, are not socialistic, as has been repeatedly shown in this magazine.

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NOMINATING SYSTEMS: DIRECT PRIMARIES VERSUS CONVENTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES. By Ernst Christopher Meyer. Cloth, 501 pages; price \$1.50. Published by the author, Madison, Wisconsin.

This book is both a history and an argument. It tells the story of the caucus and convention system that has prevailed so long in this country, and gives an account of the various attempts that have been made in the different states to reform it. The conclusion reached by Mr. Meyer is that we are to be saved from the ills of the caucus system, not by reformation but by substitution. In other words, that a system of direct primaries should be substituted for the caucus and convention plan so long in use.

It seems strange that any scheme which contemplates protecting the rights of the voters in primary elections, and which confessedly would secure that result, should meet with any serious opposition; yet the history of primary reform in the states shows with what tenacity and conser-

vatism legislators have clung to a system which invites and promotes fraud, and provides for the success of the bosses and the boodlers in politics, rather than the triumph of the people. But the indications are that a primary reform, as radical in its protective features as the Australian ballot, is destined to be speedily adopted in most of the states. According to Mr. Meyer, the primary election system which prevails in some of the southern states is far from being either in theory or practice what the exigencies of the case demand. In the South the system works fairly well, for the reason that there is practically but one party in the field, while an entirely different system is necessary where there are two closely divided parties, but where the temptation to forage upon the floating voter is very great.

One of the interesting chapters in the book before us gives the history of the labors of Governor La Follette to secure primary reform in Wisconsin, reference to which will be made in another part of this magazine.

The appendix to Mr. Meyer's books contains the Stevens primary election bill. This measure was defeated by the last Wisconsin legislature, but is presented as an ideal statute. It provides for the nomination of public officials, to be voted for at direct primary elections. Such elections are to be held on the same day in each precinct in a state, and they are to be conducted with all the secrecy and safeguards which characterize a general election. All the political parties are to vote at the same time and place. Candidates are to secure places on the nomination ballots by petition. Such petition must be signed by two per cent. of the voters of the party residing within the state or subdivision for which the person is a candidate. The law contains many provisions for registration and to secure its practical application. This measure does away with not only the caucus at the bottom but the convention at the top of our nominating methods. Under its operation the opportunity for the ward heeler, or his more forceful boss, to manipulate the caucus or convention, would be gone. With such a law in force, political responsibility would rest



solely with the voters, and they alone would be to blame if political honesty and decency did not prevail.

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CLARK'S THE GOVERNMENT: WHAT IT IS; WHAT IT DOES. By Salter Storrs Clark. Cloth, 12mo, 304 pages, with maps and illustrations. Price 75 cents. American Book Company, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

This is simply another volume added to the long list of text book now being made to meet the demand for civil government teaching in the public and other schools of the country.

It deals in detail with a multitude of subjects, and claims to treat the topics as a well-equipped teacher would present the matters to his class.

An explanation is given of the operation of the state, local and general governments, with an exposition of the laws relating to crime, the rights of property and a multitude of allied topics. A chapter is devoted to nominations and party procedure in general, and another to the issues which divide parties. The appendix gives an outline of the principal governments of the world, briefly explaining their peculiar features.

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#### NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

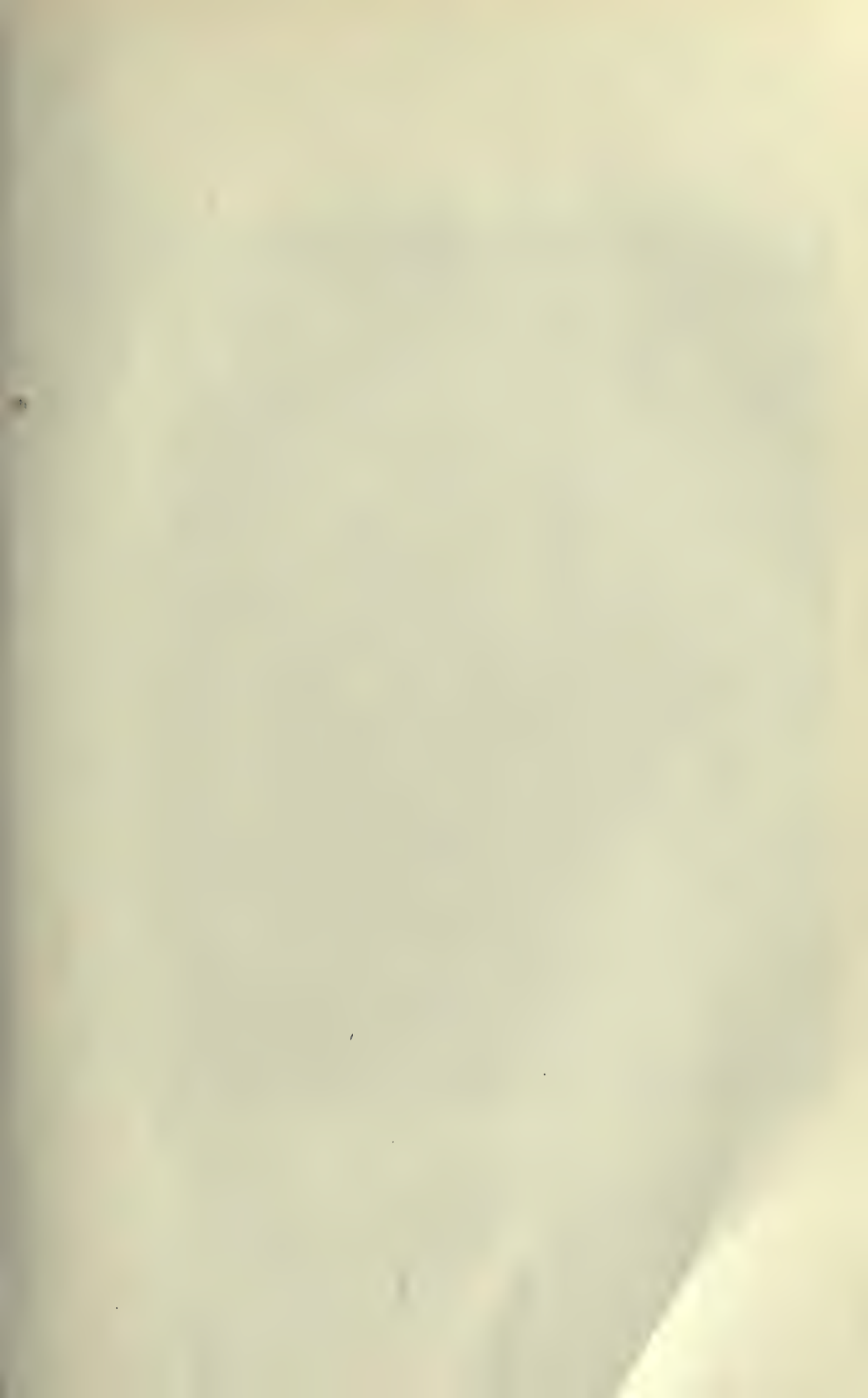
*Finland: Its Public and Private Economy.* By N. C. Fredrickson. Crown, 8vo, \$2.00. Longmans, Green & Co., New York and London.

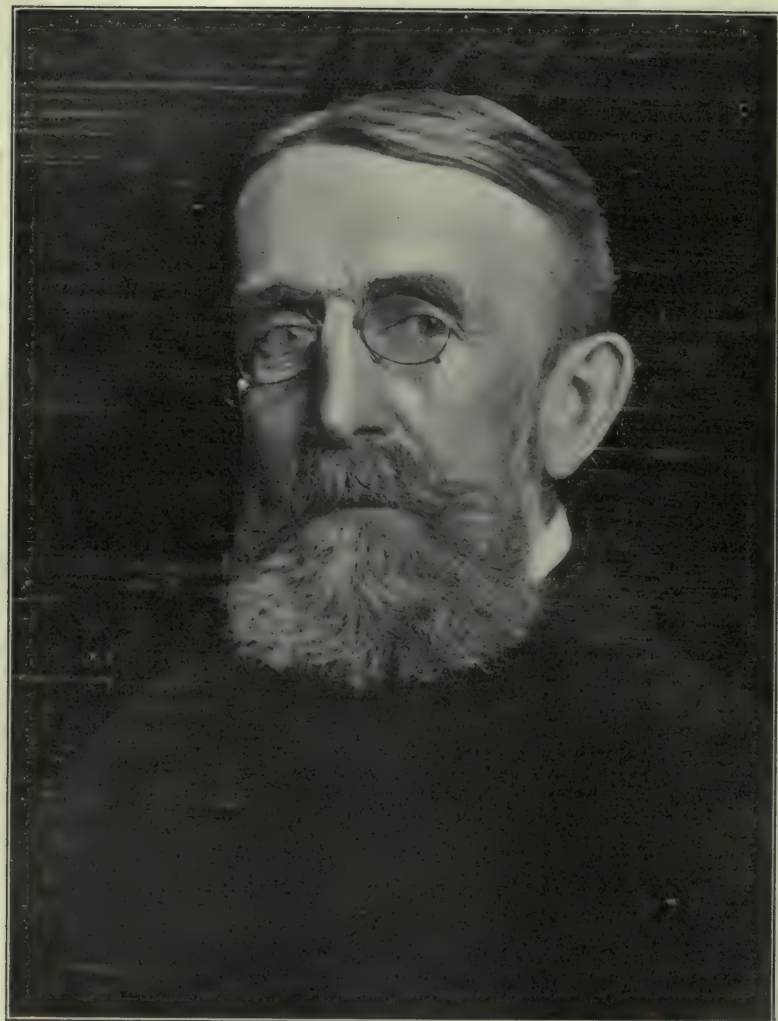
*The Life of Napoleon I.* By J. H. Rose, M. A. Illustrated, 2 vols., 8vo, \$4.00, net. The Macmillan Co., New York.

*The German Empire of To-day.* By "Veritas." With map. Crown, 340 pp., \$2.25. Longmans, Green & Co., New York and London.

*The Principles of English Constitutional History.* By Lucy Dale. Crown, 8vo. Longmans, Green & Co., New York and London.

*The Philosophy of Despair.* By Dr. David Starr Jordan. Elder & Shepard, San Francisco.





HON. ANDREW D. WHITE

(Courtesy of *The World's Work*)



# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## THE ADMINISTRATION AND PROTECTION

The republican party has always had less of theory and been less governed by economic principles than the democratic. Jefferson was more of a doctrinaire than Hamilton; Jefferson Davis was vastly more of a theorist than Lincoln. But, although the republican party has been less dominated by any definite principles of political science or statesmanship, it has been far more practical. In fact, it may be said that the chief characteristic of the republican party has ever been practical helpfulness to the development of the nation. It never had theory enough to make it at all unpractical or disrupting. It was in favor of free coinage and bimetallism when there were no injurious effects to be feared, but, when the production of silver became so large that free coinage would have disrupted our financial system, the abstract theory of 16-to-1 lost its interest, and the republicans, in violation of a policy for which they had stood when conditions were different, definitely established the gold standard. And so, in various other lines, it has ever lent itself to helpful policy, even though it seemed paternal; such, for instance, as the laws regulating hours of labor, compulsory education, strict supervision of factories, and abolition of child labor in factories and workshops.

In all this the controlling idea is not a theory, or an abstract political principle, but always the public utility of the proposition. The one thing it has always adhered to with unfaltering tenacity from Hamilton to Roosevelt has been the policy of protection. Protection had some basis in theory with Hamilton, and perhaps a little more with Henry Clay, but it has been adopted for the most part wholly for

practical reasons, for the obviously helpful effect it had upon American industries, promoting the development of manufactures. This has been so continuous that it has, in the last few years, taken the form of a political doctrine. It is practically the only political doctrine which can be said to be characteristic of the republican party. Upon this doctrine it has based its reputation. Upon this doctrine it has earned its distinctive character as the party of industry and national development. However much it may have wavered and varied on other lines, it has never faltered either in the practice or the doctrine of protection. It points to our immense industrial development during the last quarter of a century as a monument of the practical success of this policy.

On the strength of its fidelity to this doctrine it has commanded the confidence of the business man, of the financial man, and to a large extent of the wage workers. It has become so closely identified with business prosperity and industrial interests of the country as to be quite recognized as the "business man's" and sometimes as the "rich man's" party. This is quite natural. It is natural that it should receive the support of business interests, because this policy has always been helpful to business enterprise and prosperity. It is also natural that it should be called the rich man's party. Large interests have found it necessary in the interest of business stability and financial safety to give their support to the republican party. It is equally natural that there should be a tendency to use the fact that it is a so-called rich man's party, to eliminate from the republican party the laboring class.

It is not difficult, especially in the times of industrial conflict like the present coal strike, to make a large section of wage workers think that the rich are industrially their enemies, and, therefore, that the party to which the great mass of business men and capitalists belong is not friendly to labor, is not the workingman's party. Such a conclusion, of course, does not follow in the least. On the contrary, whatever party or policy will promote business prosperity is the helpful policy or party for the workingman. Capital-

ists, to be sure, do not readily give higher wages, shorter hours, or better the conditions of the laborers; the workingmen have to demand these things with more or less urgency, and sometimes strike for them; but under conditions of business depression they cannot secure improvement even by these methods.

The only conditions under which any considerable advance can be secured by the laborers, even with the aid of unions and strikes and all the force they can command, is when business is prosperous and labor in good demand. Under conditions of languishing business and enforced idleness, not even trade union demands, and strikes, can get any appreciable improvement in the condition of the laborer. So that, primarily, the party whose policy promotes business prosperity is the party, whether it intends it or even knows it, of the workingman quite as much as of any other class in the community, for they, like capitalists, business men and bankers, are interested in politics and political policy only to the extent that they promote the conditions of industrial welfare.

As we have said, the chief feature of the republican policy which has lent itself most readily to industrial prosperity, and won for it the support of laborers, is the tariff. The object lessons on this point have been so impressive, and unfortunately so frequent, that everybody who is old enough to work can remember at least one of them. An attack on the protective element in our fiscal system has immediately reflected itself in a state of business depression, sometimes financial panic, enforced idleness, lowering of wages and all too frequently in a régime of soup kitchens. A return to protective policy has invariably been the means by which these periods of depression and hardship have been relieved and prosperity restored.

This is a very practical aspect of politics, and it is one to which the great mass of the American people readily turn. On all other questions the democrats seem more friendly to labor than the republicans. There is a more marked tendency among the democratic leaders to recognize the legitimacy of trade unions and sympathize with the laborers in



strikes, to echo in their oratory the complaints that labor makes against capital, and to lead in agitations against concentrated wealth, in the interest or in the name of labor. On questions like injunctions against labor unions, for instance, the democratic party raises its voice in protest while the republican party is silent. All the new and more or less revolutionary ideas on labor and social regulation are encouraged by the democratic party, but find practically no sympathy in the republican. Those, for instance, who are in favor of the single tax as a system of confiscating land from the rich in the interest of the poor, find the greatest sympathy and response in the democratic party. Tom Johnson, for example, who has practically taken the place of Henry George, and is now mayor of Cleveland, has the following of the democratic party. Bryan endorses him and the majority of the democratic party in Ohio is completely at his disposal.

All the more or less concrete theories about public ownership of municipal monopolies, the various doctrines presented by the populists, and so on, find practically no sympathy or response in the republican party, but frequently get a warm reception from the democratic. So that, from all points of view, aggressive ideas in the interest of labor, whether wise or unwise, will find the democratic party more hospitable than the republican. It will go farther and do more in the lines in which the workingman believes to be to his greater interest than the republican party. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the democratic party has never been able to secure the support of the intelligent workingmen. The only reason for this is that the republican party has in and out of season stood steadfastly by and applied with practical force the doctrine of protection to American industry. That policy has a visible effect on the conditions of earning a living, and against that all the economic and political vagaries have not availed.

In view of all this it is not difficult to see that the only real stronghold the republican party has upon the labor support of the country is in its fidelity to the protective policy. If the republican party wavers on this, it loses its

last hold. The administration and its followers in congress during the last session have shown many signs of committing the political blunder of weakening on protection as a fundamental tenet of party policy and bulwark of national prosperity.

Of course it is the policy, it is the technical strategy, of the democrats to make inroads upon the protective doctrine in the ranks of the republicans, simply because it is their impregnable point; it is the republicans' chief hold upon the people. It is the one thing that makes business men, capitalists and laborers sustain that party in the political conflicts. The democrats of whatever faction or school all know this. They all know it is hopeless to try to break down the republican party by attacking its financial or foreign policy; but if they can only make it weaken on the tariff question they can then easily induce the laborers to desert it, and a few business men as well. That is the foundation of the republican strength, to surrender which is to be easily routed in a political contest.

It often happens that the persistent agitation of the opposition induces doubtful friends of protection to think that the true policy is to compromise with its enemies, who ask now 20 per cent. reduction and now tariff for revenue; but all the time mean free trade or as near it as they can get. The present administration has shown a painful amount of faltering on this point in dealing with Cuba and Porto Rico. Especially in the matter of Cuba it encouraged, not to say forced, a discussion of the tariff question, and, in order to carry through its special policy for Cuba, opened the door to a fresh attack on the whole protective policy.

Chairman Babcock, of the republican congressional campaign committee, announced his intention to ask congress to remove the tariff on all trust-made articles. This was a sop to the anti-corporation fever, which had not one atom of economic sanity in it, but it served effectually to stimulate discussion of tariff revision. It encouraged every anti-protectionist orator and newspaper to attack the administration and call the corporations monopolists

and robbers, and so tend to intensify the hostile public opinion towards corporations, and towards all large business concerns.

This is practically what has occurred in the matter of the tariff. The misrepresentation of protection and protected industries during the Cuban controversy, from the friends of the administration, from the speeches of Cubans, from administration newspapers like the *New York Tribune*, contributed grist to the mill of the general tariff revision agitation. So that the question now has gone beyond the control of the administration and threatens to overwhelm it.

Of course, the president and Secretary Root, and the whole administrative policy, were taken seriously by a large portion of the party. Those who, in congress, stood out for protection and resisted the tariff revision policy were called "insurgents," with the intention of branding them as deserters from the party cause. This has had its influence on the republican party. As is always the case, a very large number of either party will always follow the administration. Witness the case of Mr. Cleveland, in 1887. At that time the democratic party had no idea of making an anti-tariff issue, but when the president, the head of the party, made an attack on the tariff, that was the keynote for the perfunctory followers at least, and in less than six months the entire democratic party of the country was anti-tariff, and a very large portion of it rampantly for free trade.

The same influence is now working in the republican party. The attitude of the president and the administration towards congressmen who are faithful to protection gives the idea that tariff revision must be a coming issue. Anti-protectionists, in the meantime, pushed on from the question of Cuba, insisting that the high price of beef was due to protection, that the oppression of the coal operators and all the faults of large corporations were directly or indirectly due to the tariff, and that, unless the country were to be subjected to a high-handed dictation and persistent robbery by large corporations, there must be a re-



vision of the tariff: first, of course, for the sake of the Cubans, and then a general revision of the tariff for the sake of the nation.

Some of the state conventions felt it necessary to support the administration, personally sustain the president and pledge themselves for his nomination in 1904, and have declared in favor of tariff revision. The Iowa platform was one of the most pronounced, and practically created a consternation. Idaho went still farther, and now practically every state convention believes itself called upon to express some opinion in favor of tariff revision. So that, it rapidly became a part of the state of mind of the republican party that, in order to prevent the democrats from reducing the tariff, it must be done by the republicans. It has gone so far that the speaker of the house of representatives, Mr. Henderson, has declined again to be a candidate for congress, although his re-election to the speakership was a foregone conclusion, because the people in his district and state favor tariff revision, and rather than be a party to that policy he retires from the field.

The president has said so much, not definitely to be sure, but which encouraged the inference that he favored tariff revision on the ground that, if the republicans do not do it, the democrats will, that this has become generally believed to be his state of mind. It is called reciprocity, to be sure, but to-day it is only another name for cutting the tariff. This became so serious that a conference was held a short time ago at Oyster Bay, in which the president received some wholesome advice on the subject. It is fair to say that, in his Cincinnati speech, he has pitched a somewhat new key. He felt it necessary to continue to talk against trusts, but insisted that the trust evil could not be remedied by dealing with the tariff. The tone of his speech there, indeed, was no tariff revision. But this is so unlike his New England speeches, so unlike the whole tenor of his administration during the last session of congress, and so unlike the tone of the administration organs during the last six months, that the anti-protection papers

(with some show of reason) are already saying he is "talking by instruction." They are saying that it is evident his Cincinnati speech was made to order, that it lacked the spontaneity and vigor of his New England speeches; in short, that, on the tariff matter, he was evidently not speaking his own mind, but that of the party leaders. Be that as it may, it is unfortunate, because the influence of the administration in this whole matter has been to create in the republican party a division on the tariff question and build up a faction exactly as was done in 1884 and 1892, that thinks it respectable and progressive to demand tariff revision, which always means tariff reduction.

Nothing is clearer in the history of politics in this country than that to surrender the doctrine of protection means defeat for the republican party. On the matter of foreign policy and certain other questions, it is not more in line with modern thought and American tradition than the democratic party, and not so near to the popular heart. If the republican party compromises or abandons protection, it will surrender the conditions of business prosperity and ought to lose the support of the industrial classes, and there is no risk in predicting it will lose the support of the laboring class. It has no real claim upon their confidence and support on any other ground than protection. Abandon that, and the wage-workers have every reason, both in popular sentiment and practical policy, to abandon the republican party.

Protection, sound money and a non-colonial policy are the three essential features of political endurance for the republican party. It has abandoned one by adopting a colonial or quasi-imperialistic policy. It is only higgling with the banking and money question, and its last and only impregnable stronghold is its fidelity to protection. Unless the present administration warms up and talks consistent protection as a vital issue, as the bulwark of party reliance and national policy, there will be a split in its ranks, with revisionists and non-revisionists playing the part over again of mugwumps and stalwarts, and it will be of little consequence who gets the nomination in

1904. For, if the administration and the party leaders so trifle with the subject as to give the protective policy only half-hearted support, a considerable section lending itself to tariff agitation, with disturbance of business and slackening of prosperity, a political Waterloo for the republican party may be confidently looked for.

It is of no special concern who gets the republican nomination for president in 1904. There are plenty of men who would creditably fill the office of president. It is of vital importance, however, to the nation and to the progress of civilization everywhere that an industrial depression be not precipitated.

It is significant to know that there are not a few of the strongest business men, of practical experience and patriotic devotion, who see the danger signal in this quarter, and are willing, nay determined, rather than support a faltering, compromising, insincere attitude on the tariff question merely in the mistaken notion that it will give political popularity, to desert the party or raise the standard of protection in a new camp. Such a movement, while it would have a vitalizing effect in sustaining the principle of political integrity and fidelity to the protective principle in public policy, would make defeat of the republican party sure. It would make the republican nomination in 1904 worthless to whomsoever might get it. It is important, therefore, no less to the success of the republican party than to the permanence of industrial prosperity in this country, that the doctrine of protection be made, if possible, more and not less conspicuously the doctrine of the party. For the administration to desert that doctrine now would be to lend itself to the same influences which gave us Cleveland in 1893, with the resulting era of industrial disaster.



## CONDITIONS WHICH AFFECT BEEF PRICES

HENRY W. WILBUR

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE for July contained an article by the editor, showing that there were conditions existing in our country which tended to increase the cost of beef, in spite of any action on the part of the so-called beef trust to advance and maintain prices to the consumer. It was claimed that these conditions were due to natural causes, were not spasmodic or artificial, but were the product of conditions extending over a period of years.

It is nearly three months since the article in GUNTON'S was written, and now we find that practically every claim made in it is confirmed by official figures, published by the Labor Bureau, at Washington. In the *Labor Bulletin* for July is an article by Fred. C. Croxton on beef prices. It contains elaborate statistics covering prices, commodities and the available food supplies, which are exceedingly suggestive. The statements and prices in Mr. Croxton's article, he tells us, were "secured from the files of trade journals, published reports of stock-yard companies and boards of trade, government departments, etc." The prices of sides of beef are from the quotations in the Boston market, for "the reason that the trade papers of that city were the only available ones which quoted prices of western dressed beef for the whole period from 1890 to 1902."

From the figures given in the number of the *Labor Bulletin* mentioned, we compile the following table, all the prices and stock receipts being such as obtained on the first day of June, for each and every year indicated.

It will be noted in the table that more than one condition existed in 1902 to make the price of beef mount upward. First, there was a falling off in the number of beef cattle received at the commercial centers where stock of this kind seeks a market: second, there was an increase in the price of hay and corn, upon which the cattle to sup-

ply the market must be fed and fattened. A bushel of corn cost eighteen cents more on June 1st, 1902, than it did on June 1st, 1901; and hay was \$1.50 a ton higher.

Year.	Mean price per 100 pounds.		Number Cattle Received at Union Stock Yards, Chicago.	Number Cattle Received at Chicago, Kansas City, Omaha and St. Louis.	Mean Price per Bushel of No. 2 Cash Corn.	Mean Price per Ton of No. 1 Timothy Hay.
	Good Extra Steers in Chicago.	Good to Extra Fresh Beef (Western Sides) in Boston.				
1890	\$4.72½	\$6.37½	284,037	513,737	\$0.33 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	\$10.25
1891	5 70	8.12½	235,618	442,393	.55 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	12 50
1892	4.37½	6.50	265,717	469,120	.50 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	13.50
1893	5.62½	9.00	245,974	485,198	.40 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	11.00
1894	4.17½	7.00	213,772	419,189	.37 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	9 75
1895	5.57½	9.00	167,859	358,280	.31 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	9.75
1896	4.10	6.87½	208,948	439,444	.27 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	11.50
1897	5.02½	8.37½	203,108	466,955	.23 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	9 00
1898	4.90	7.75	213,361	428,212	.33 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	9.75
1899	5.30	8 62½	205,132	391,698	.33 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	10.25
1900	5.37½	8.00	195,102	429,500	.37 <sup>9</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	11 00
1901	5.75	7.75	225,433	473,921	.43 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	12 25
1902	7.10	10.00	204,813	462,292	.61 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>16</sub>	13 75

The various tables by Mr. Croxton show that the price of beef, both on the hoof and dressed, in Boston, gradually rose from January to June of this year, while no such condition existed in the corresponding period of 1901. Looking at the price of corn, we find that it maintained a fairly even rate for the six months included in the investigation. It started at 63 11-16 cents in January, and ended at 61 5-16 cents in June, while the price of hay gradually rose from \$13 in January to \$13.75 in June. In the corresponding months, in 1901, corn rose from 36 1-16 cents a bushel to 43 13-16 cents, while hay brought \$12.50 in January and \$12.25 in June. The receipts of cattle in the four cities mentioned in the table, for the first six months in 1902, were as follows: January, 554,912; February, 458,381; March, 458,426; April, 440,774; May, 379,232; June, 462,292. This is simply another evidence of the reduced supply and increased cost of fattening beef cattle.

Suggestive as these figures are, they do not tell the

whole story. Not only was the number of beef cattle received in Chicago 20,620 less on June 1st, 1902, than for the same time in the previous year, but the gross weight of the cattle was 27,993,268 pounds less than that of those received in 1901. It is also shown that the average weight of the cattle has been reduced since March. In that month the average weight was 1,005 pounds; April, 940; May 957, June 964.

Had the average weight of cattle prevailing June 1st, 1890 (which was 1,057 pounds), held good in 1902, it would have added 19,047,609 pounds to the supply of beef placed on the Chicago market in a single day. The gross weight of the beef cattle received at Chicago June 1st, 1890, was 300,227,109 pounds, or 102,787,377 pounds more than on the corresponding day in 1902.

The case may be stated a little differently. By consulting the foregoing table, it will be seen that the four great centers for the receipt and distribution of beef cattle received 51,445 fewer on June 1st, 1902, than June 1st, 1890. The population of the United States in 1900 was 62,622,250, while in 1902 it is not less than 77,000,000. In other words, on June 1st, 1902, the people of the country were obliged to look for a market supply of beef considerably less than what was available for a population fifteen millions smaller twelve years ago than it is to-day.

Another illustration will show how a combination of conditions is necessary to raise the price of commodities: On June 1st, 1899, the number of cattle that found their way to the great receiving points was less than in 1902, but the average weight and gross weight were more than for the latter period. What is more, the price of corn was 28 cents a bushel cheaper in 1899 than in 1902, and hay was \$3.50 a ton cheaper.

There is a certain amount of interest in considering the margin between the price of cattle per hundred pounds, on the hoof, and the price of dressed beef for the same quantity. In 1899, the margin was \$3.32½; in 1902, \$2.90. While the margin was 90 cents more in 1902 than in 1901, this cannot be claimed as the reason for the increased price



of beef to the consumer. Mr. Croxton tells us in his article that "cattle on the average yield from fifty to sixty per cent. of dressed beef." It will thus be seen that there must be a greater margin than \$2.00 per hundred pounds between cattle on the hoof and the dressed sides of beef ready for the retail market, as the business could not be conducted on that small margin. The difference between live and dressed beef is as small as it is because the large concerns are able to save and market almost all of the by-product. This is among the "improvements that all of the great packing companies have introduced in the business," mentioned in the *JULY GUNTON'S MAGAZINE*. Manifestly every buyer of beef is benefitted by these methods of the great meat handling concerns.

Nothing has been said in this article about the increased disposition and capacity on the part of the people to consume meat, because of the general prosperity which has continued for nearly half a decade. That, in connection with the increased population, is in itself an item in determining the price of beef.

All of the conditions which tend to an increase of prices having culminated together, an enhanced cost of beef came as a natural result. Powerful as the so-called trust may be, it cannot make light beef heavy, and, by never so much wishing, can it call an increased supply of beef cattle on the hoof from the "vasty deep," or fatten them as cheaply with corn at 61 cents a bushel as when it was 33 cents.

It would seem that a consideration of the foregoing facts and figures ought to inspire more sane thinking and less hysterical acting when the matter of beef prices is up for discussion.

## "CUBAN RECIPROCITY: A MORAL ISSUE"

Sentiment is one of the strongest forces in human society. People will dare, and do, and sacrifice more for a sentiment than for any other impulse. The great wars and nation-stirring movements, which have transformed the face of the earth, have largely been impelled by some moral or religious scheme.

It is not always necessary that a sentiment be well-founded. Suffice that it be accepted. The crusades were born and sustained by religious sentiment. The idea that the sepulchre of Christ should be in the hands of heretics was made a soul-stirring issue throughout Europe, and, under the impulse of a holy crusade, monarchs, barons and gentlemen left their homes, surrendered their property, and risked their lives in a tedious and often painful tramp to the Holy Land to recapture Jerusalem. Nothing short of a religious sentiment could inspire such an undertaking, which was renewed so many times, with such havoc-creating and disappointing results.

So, when the sultan of Turkey really wants to call the Mohammedans of the world to arms in defence of his worthless dynasty, he does not appeal to the economic and political merits of the case. That would fail to stir them to any such risks. But he declares a holy war, and then the whole Mohammedan world is at his command.

So it was with modern movements, like the American revolution. The real force that stirred the Americans to arms and drove the English from the colonies was not industrial hardship, it was not the oppression of taxation—for the people were not oppressed—but it was the sentiment that "taxation without representation" is robbery. It was a "moral issue," and for that the colonies fought as they could not have been inspired to do by any mere practical proposition in industry or politics.

The abolition of slavery was another instance of the same kind. Nothing keeps the home-rule movement in Ireland alive but the sentiment that Irishmen have a right

to govern themselves. It is not that they would be better governed or would be better off, but that they would have the right to govern themselves. They have more liberal laws, in many respects, than any other country, but that avails nothing against the sentiment for self-government. In other words, it ceases to be an industrial or political question, but has been made entirely a moral one.

It is well for the human race that this is so. Otherwise, mere selfishness, in the narrow, physical sense, would be the controlling force in human affairs. The soul-stirring responsiveness of sentiment makes it possible to appeal to the higher and more altruistic motives of mankind, which make progressive movements comparatively easy that would otherwise be practically impossible. Moreover, the appeal to the moral sense—to the altruistic sentiment—tends to broaden and humanize character. It develops the element in human nature that, more and more, regards the welfare of others and the welfare of the nation as identical with, and as the surest way of promoting the welfare of, self.

But, like every good element in the world, sentiment may be perverted and used to the injury of mankind, as well as for its benefit. Witness the Boxer movement in China. That was born of a sentiment against foreigners and prejudice against western manners, methods and civilization, and it came well-nigh disrupting the institutions and destroying the very integrity of the Chinese government itself, to say nothing of the degrading influence of the barbarities indulged in on both sides.

The fact that sentiment is such a potent factor in human movement naturally makes it the object of appeal of the demagogue, shyster and usurper, as well as the real leaders in the movements for human welfare. And sometimes sentiment lends itself as readily to the spurious as to the genuine. It is thus capable of being made the instrument of evil and injury, no less than of prosperity and progress. The fact that sentiment is so effective in moving the mass of mankind explains why great industrial, social and political movements usually appeal to sentiment.



The great effort is to transfer questions of public policy from the industrial and political to the moral category.

In the whole agitation regarding Cuba this has been very obvious. The administration, and those who, from various motives, have supported its attitude on the Cuban question, have all insisted, with more or less tenacity, that the Cuban tariff question is a "moral issue."

Now, there is a great difference between mere sentiment and morals. Sentiment is feeling; morality is a quality of action. Hence, a "moral issue" must always be more than an issue of sentiment. It must be an issue that rests upon a correct, practical basis. It must have its root in a proposition that would be helpful, or at least not hurtful, to the industrial and social welfare of the country. It is a peculiar feature of the whole Cuban controversy that the reduction of the tariff on Cuban products, in the American market, has been urged on the ground of sentiment. President Roosevelt, in this case, mainly voices General Wood, and has based his whole attitude on this subject on the ground of duty and obligation—moral sentiment. Those who have no sympathy with the administration, and indeed would glory in its defeat, but are seeking wholly to break down our protective system, practically abandoned all strictly economic discussion and struggled to make it a "moral issue." National honor, moral fairness, obligations to the weak, and similar phrases were made the basis of the plea, with almost no reference to the industrial and social merits of the question, upon which *alone* the moral quality of the issue must finally rest.

This moral issue aspect of the Cuban tariff is forcibly presented by William Allen White, in *McClure's Magazine* for September. Mr. White, it will be remembered, is the man whom Mr. Platt asked the president to exclude from the white house, because of a character sketch of the New York senator in the same magazine. It has been loudly intimated that Mr. White's Cuban article was inspired, and there are many things in the article which lend themselves to this view. It contains full-page pictures of the president, Elihu Root and General Wood, and in Mr.

White's best style is directed solely to supporting the president's demand for low duty on Cuban products.

Mr. White is not content with insisting that we should be the good Samaritan to Cuba, but declares that we were responsible for the Cuban rebellion; that Spain's oppression was nothing as compared with ours; declares that President McKinley promised the Cubans free sugar; insists that they had given us great benefits, and that we are sneaks of the worst kind if we do not keep our promise, and ends up by sneering at the American industry as something of no real account.

Some of the points in this inspired article in support of a "moral issue" are so extraordinary that they merit a little special notice. In the opening page, Mr. White says:

Briefly put, the relations between Cuba and the United States to-day are these: Cuba adopted the Platt amendment to her constitution after the explicit promise of President McKinley that he would use his influence to secure a re-establishment of the reciprocal trade arrangements between the island and the United States, which Cuba had enjoyed under the provisions of the McKinley tariff law during the Harrison administration. Then Cuban sugar was admitted to the United States free of duty, and Cuban planters thrived."

This is saying, in so many words, that President McKinley explicitly promised the Cubans that he would use his influence to have free sugar for Cuba. We have no hesitation in characterizing this as a straight invention. President McKinley never did anything of the kind. Nobody, from Mr. White to President Roosevelt, can produce a particle of evidence, direct or indirect, to sustain this audacious statement. Mr. McKinley had his weaknesses, but they were not in the line of promising free importation to products directly in competition with a struggling, protected infant industry in this country. It would take more than the word of Mr. White, or any other man, to make the American people believe that Mr. McKinley ever did that. However moral Mr. White's issue may be, this part of his argument is decidedly immoral, because his statement is untrue.

He then cites the Platt amendment and the sanitary

improvement of Cuban cities as advantages for which we owe a great obligation to Cuba. What does the Platt amendment do for the United States? It simply permits us to see to it that Cuba shall not lend herself, by mortgage or otherwise, to any foreign country, which might be an enemy to the United States. It in nowise intereferes with Cuba's industrial opportunities. She has the same right to trade and make treaties, admit goods free or impose tariffs on all that go into or out of Cuba, as if no Platt amendment had existed. But one of the great benefits to the United States, emphasized by Mr. White, is a clean Cuba. It is true that we cleaned up Havana and other Cuban cities, and so raised the entire plane of sanitation and health on the island; and is that comething for which we owe Cuba a debt? We responded to her cry for freedom, we sent our men and money and ships to her aid, we did for her what she could not have done in generations for herself, at our own cost, and then cleaned up her cities and put her on the road to decent sanitary conditions. By the Platt amendment we required her to continue these conditions, and for this we are under eternal obligations to Cuba! As if clean cities in Cuba would not be of infinitely more benefit to the Cubans than they ever would be to us. This is the reversal of all principles of moral obligation. Cuba has never done anything for the United States, but has been a recipient of unequalled aid at tremendous cost to the United States, and because she has received it, according to the "moral issue" argument, we are bound to disrupt our industrial policy because she asks it.

This is not merely unethical, it is absurd. But our crime endeth not here. It is not enough that we have done all these things, but Mr. White declares we are responsible for the Cuban rebellion. Here is his reasoning:

"It will be remembered that under the provisions of the McKinley law, passed in 1890, Cuban products were admitted to the United States free. There are but two exportable staples in Cuba—sugar and tobacco. Under the provision of the McKinley law, Cuban sugar planters thrived. The sugar output of the island reached its maximum.



And because sugar is the great staple of the island there was prosperity everywhere. Labor found work at living wages. Capital invested generously. Population increased. All industries grew strong. The people were contented. Then came the Wilson-Gorman law, under the Cleveland administration, which put a prohibitive tariff on Cuban sugar. The American market for Cuban sugar being closed, the sugar industry in the island languished. Within a year it was ruined. Labor was idle, for the other industries of the island were dependent upon sugar growing, and all trades were paralyzed in Cuba. . . . The idle laborers of Cuba opened the rebellion. . . . It was the outward and visible sign of anger at Spain. But the actual oppression of Spain was a small matter compared with the economic troubles that came when Cuban sugar was shut out of the American market by American laws. America was as much responsible for the Cuban rebellion as Spain was."

According to this, we are to be held morally responsible for the waning industries in all countries whose prosperity is checked by protecting our own industries. Who is to be responsible for the decay and destruction of our own industries if, by removing the duties that foreigners may prosper, our own industries perish? Of course, it is mere selfishness to think of our own. Free sugar would undoubtedly help Cuban industries, but would kill our own sugar industry. Is it more moral to kill an American industry than to injure a foreign one? To call such reasoning ethics is a misnomer. It is not ordinarily sensible. It is a distortion of facts, an absurdity in reason, and a perversion of both economic and ethical principles.

Having made us responsible both for the revolution in Cuba and the destruction of her industries, and under obligation for having helped her in her freedom, Mr. White turns for a moment to the commercial standpoint, forgetting the moral forces at stake. Here he seems even more out of place than when playing with the strings of a "moral issue." He says:

"The duty against Cuban sugar in American ports is prohibitive. Sugar sold on the wharves of Havana for \$1.68, and the admitted cost of production is \$2.00."

This is another statement of fact in which the moral element has disappeared. If the duty on Cuban sugar is

prohibitive, how is it that she sells all her crop in the American market? When was sugar sold for \$1.68 on the wharves of Havana, and who "admits the cost of production is \$2.00"? Nobody who knows anything about it. Both these statements are simply untrue. If this was inspired, it was by a lying spirit. This is of a piece with the deliberately false statement regarding sugar that went the rounds of the press in the early days of July, which were exposed in the August issue of this magazine. And not one of the advocates of the "moral issue," who waxed eloquent on the strength of those lying figures, have come to the defence of their false story.

The only available facts regarding the cost of producing sugar in Cuba are those obtained directly from the planters. A recent statement, purporting to be taken directly from the books of a large Havana planter, and published for the purpose of showing that the planters were going to ruin, gave the cost of production per sack (320 pounds) as follows: For the raw cane, \$3.33; grinding, 90 cents; transportation and warehouse dues, 51 cents; total, \$4.74, being just \$1.48 per hundred delivered in New York, instead of \$2.00 on the wharves of Havana. Add to this the duty of \$1.68 per hundred makes a cost, duty paid, of only \$3.16 per hundred pounds.

The lowest point the price of sugar has touched since October, 1896, is \$3.31 per hundred, being 15 cents higher than this Cuban cost. To-day it is \$3.50 per hundred, which is 34 cents above this cost, including the duty. Instead, therefore, of the planters being compelled to sell their sugar at a loss, there has never been a time when that was true, except through some bad management or foolish business. At the very lowest price which sugar has touched, it would yield the planter, on his investment in the product, according to this statement of cost, 4.32 per cent. On the average price which prevailed during June and July, he would have made a net profit of over 10 per cent. At the average price of the first six months of this year, he would have made 16 per cent., and at the prevailing prices for the previous years much greater profit. This

statement of Mr. White's is simply a scandalous perversion of the facts.

The much talked of ruin of the Cuban planters and Cuban laborers is nowhere in evidence. If there had been any truth in the predictions of last winter and the statements of Mr. White, Cuba would have been a mass of enforced idleness, pauperism and mendicancy long ere this, and bankrupt proceedings would have been the chief occupation of the courts. But nothing of the kind has occurred. On the contrary, Cuban representatives in Washington recognize that these reports, for political purposes, are tending to injure the credit of Cuba, and Cuban business men deny that any such conditions exist, and state that business prosperity is increasing in Cuba.

A New York daily recently stated, editorially, that it had received a business circular from a Cuban firm, showing that "Cuban lands will yield as much as \$400 per acre, without more expense and investment, all told, than \$40 per acre"—and much more to the same effect.

The simple fact is, that the profits of Cuban sugar raising in the past have been enormous, such as to make plantation owners opulent, much like medieval barons and plantation owners of the South before the war. It has been a system of producing with semi-slave labor and selling the products at civilized prices in the American market. And now, when they are reduced to the terms of normal business profits, which enterprising Americans are satisfied with, they cry out "ruin." There is nothing in this transition to justify gratuities from the American treasury, and much less the disruption of an American industry, that the inordinate opulence of a few, with shiftless medieval methods, may continue.

He then proceeds to a little economic theorizing on the law of prices to show that free sugar would not injure American producers. He says:

"The price of the home-grown sugar will not be fixed, of course, by what it costs to produce sugar in the United States, but, rather, the price will be based on the highest cost of production, tariff duties, and transportation from the farthest foreign country; for there cannot be



two prices for the same article on the market. . . . If the gap between consumption and supply which foreign sugar fills were a very small one, still the price of the sugar it took to fill that small gap would control all the sugar sold in the country. Cuba produces to-day one-third of the sugar used in the United States. If Cuban sugar were admitted duty free, which, by the way, the reciprocity treaty does not provide [what treaty?], it would not control or cheapen the price of sugar in the United States, for there would still be coming into this country from European colonies and countries a great flood of sugar paying a 108 per cent. tariff, which will always maintain the high price."

Admitting this reasoning to be in the main sound, Cuban sugar producers could never be put to any serious disadvantage. They never could be compelled to sell at less than cost, since, he says: "There cannot be two prices for the same article on the same market," and the "foreign sugar" which fills the "small gap would control all the sugar sold in the country." Cuba, therefore, can fix the price, for she does not fill a small gap, but, according to Mr. White, "produces one-third of the sugar used in the United States."

If this means anything, and it does, it means that Cuba, furnishing a large part of the necessary supply of sugar, can always keep up the price, so that all this talk about Cuban planters being compelled to sell at a loss and be prohibited from the American market is so much pure perversion of fact for political purposes. It is not true, and no part of it is true. It never was true. On the contrary, as has been conclusively shown\* from verified data, there has always been a profit on sugar raising in Cuba, with ordinary thrift. Cuba is at a definite advantage over Germany and other foreign sugar producers in the American market, and, if she were not, from Mr. White's own saying, she has the power to fix her own price. The inspirer of this reasoning needs a more modern charge of inspiration.

After berating the American sugar producers, which is characteristic of all the reciprocity advocates, Mr. White blandly says:

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\*See August GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, p. 132.

"If the United States pays her obligations to Cuba [Oh, my!], and allows Cuban industries to thrive as they thrived under the McKinley law of 1890, the population of Cuba will rise toward the 15,000,000 point rapidly."

This is nearer the truth than anything else Mr. White has said. If Cuba should have free sugar, which is what these "moral issue" advocates want, or as near it as they can get, with the tariff maintained against all other countries, there is no doubt but what the population of Cuba would rapidly increase. Cuban sugar raising would at once become a bonanza at the expense of the United States treasury, because, as Mr. White says, the price of sugar in the American market would remain substantially the same.

Then how, it will be asked, would the beet sugar industry be injured? It would be destroyed in a year because of the immense profits in sugar raising in Cuba. The capital in sugar raising in this country would at once be transferred to Cuba, and produce sugar there with medieval and semi-slave labor. Thus all the laborers employed in the sugar industry in this country would be laid off, and their places, so far as supplying sugar was concerned, supplied by semi-barbarian labor in Cuba. The population would increase, not from the United States, but by immigration from Spain and other cheap labor countries. There is no attraction for American laborers on sugar plantations in Cuba. Besides losing revenue to the United States, it would transfer the sugar industry, which is being developed in the United States under scientific conditions, with modern machinery and methods, and by American wages, over to Cuba, with medieval conditions.

Now, this is precisely what should be prevented at all hazards. It is what the United States does not want. If legislation should do anything, it should at least protect the opportunities for supplying the American market by the use of modern conditions and American wages. Yet this "moral issue" proposes to destroy an American industry, employing American laborers and paying American wages, by helping American capitalists to go to a foreign,

semi-barbarous country and supply the American market by the employment of quasi-slave labor. Such a policy is so absolutely against every interest of civilization and morality that it ought to be resisted regardless of the consequences upon any political party, or upon the administration, or upon the renomination or election of a candidate for president.

This whole policy, besides being unpatriotic, is uneconomic and immoral in its every fibre. Far better to put all sugar on the free list and let the world compete on a free trade basis for our sugar supply than to use the tariff to enable American capitalists to supersede American labor by the semi-slave labor of a half-civilized country.



## A STATISTICAL VIEW OF AMERICAN CITIES

WALTER G. DAVIS

One hundred and thirty-five cities in the United States emerge from the census of 1900 with a population of over 30,000. For three successive years cities of this class have been the subject of special investigations by the National Department of Labor, by the direction of a vote of congress, passed in 1898. The difficulties of such a task at the outset were very great. There was not even a semblance of uniformity in the official statistical reports of the various cities. Commissioner Wright's department first had to bring order out of the chaos by re-casting the statistics of each city into some system of uniformity, and where this was utterly impossible explanatory foot-notes were added to the department's tables. This obstacle to getting the full value from this annual work will disappear in time. The National Municipal League has a committee on uniform statistics and accounts, and cities have already begun to adopt the schedules recommended by this committee. The annual reports of the department of labor in this field cover minutely every phase of municipal activity and they are destined to become an important factor in the ultimate solution of the great American problem of municipal reform.

The tendency of private wealth to concentrate in the cities is, perhaps, the most striking aspect of this statistical view of American cities. The valuation of real and personal property in the 135 cities now under consideration reaches the enormous aggregate of over \$13,500,000,000, an amount more than double the combined individual deposits in all the commercial banks—including national, state and private, and loan and trust companies—in the United States. Although these are the figures as they are taken from the assessors' books, they do not begin to tell the whole story. In the first place, the basis of assessment varies markedly in the different cities, ranging all the way from 20 per

cent. of the real valuation to 100 per cent. In only 43 cities is the assessment of real and personal property made on the basis of its actual value. In the second place, the failure of the general property tax to reach the personal property makes the reported valuation of this class only a fraction of the real amount. The ease with which personalty escapes assessment under the general property tax means that so long as this system is in vogue it will be impossible to get anything approaching a true estimate of the valuation of this class of wealth in our cities. The statistics now before us are significant in that they show how real property bears the brunt of the tax and how successfully personal property eludes the vigilance of the assessors. Of the thirteen and one-half billions of private property assessed for taxation only one-fifth is in the form of personal property. New York and a few other places include franchises in their general property tax, but this feature will be touched upon a little later. Large as Commissioner Wright's figures are, then, we get from them only an idea of the vastness of the accumulation of private wealth in our large cities, the real extent of which will never be known until all property is assessed uniformly on a basis of one hundred per cent. of its real value and until some system of taxation is adopted which will reach personal property as certainly and as easily as real estate.

A study of the fiscal operations of the cities now under consideration shows that this great mass of private property is the source of the major portion of the ordinary municipal income. The actual income for the fiscal year foots up over \$402,000,000 and of this almost \$260,000,000—an amount exceeding the entire world's production of gold for the last year—comes from the property tax. The other principal sources of income are: liquor and other licenses, fines and fees, special assessments and water rates. The income under the head of "franchises" amounts to the comparatively small total of \$2,350,000. There is nothing to indicate whether this comes from the sale or taxation of franchises. Probably it includes both, although in some cities franchises are taxed in the usual way under the gen-

eral property tax. Both the smallness of receipts and the lack of uniformity in the method by which income from this source reaches the municipal coffers show the newness of this special problem. The cities only recently have had their attention turned to the possibility of large income from this source and in the very near future the receipts from franchises will show a material increase. Only 67 of the reporting cities show any income from this source, and it ranges in amount from \$15 in Elmira, N. Y., to \$560,000 in New York city. The total receipts for the year from all sources, including ordinary income, cash on hand and loans, foot up over \$660,500,000, an amount far in excess of the ordinary annual income of the national government. In some states the accounts of certain cities and counties are inextricably mixed, but the figures, as they are presented in the department of labor's report, are sufficiently accurate as showing the municipal fiscal operations, even though in some isolated cases county finances are involved to a very minor degree.

A glance at the other side of the cash-book shows that the total expenditures for the same period are over \$582,200,000, and this includes everything—capital outlay, expenses of operation and loans repaid. Of this amount the expenditures for maintenance and operation are over \$337,000,000. This indicates that were it not for the great municipal investments now being made the cities would be easily self-supporting, and with lower tax-rates, for we have just seen that the actual ordinary revenue of the year, exclusive of loans, was \$402,000,000. The principal items in the municipal expense account are for the police and fire departments, schools, streets (cleaning, lighting, etc.), interest on debt, parks and charities (hospitals, asylums and almshouses). The expenditures for construction and other capital outlay reach almost \$119,000,000, the principal items in this account being new schools, and other municipal buildings, parks, sewers, streets, water-works, and sinking fund. The balance of the total expenditure, \$126,200,000, represents the payment of loans.

The loan transactions for the year show the tendency



of the American cities to plunge heavily into debt for the purpose, in the main, of making them more habitable for the teeming populations which have come together with such comparative suddenness. Although loans, as has just been stated, amounting to over \$126,200,000 were paid during the year, the monies received from new loans during the same time aggregate over \$183,000,000, an amount almost as large as the issue of government bonds during the recent war with Spain. The combined gross debt, including bonded and floating, foots up almost \$1,148,000,000. Taking out the sinking fund, amounting to \$240,000,000, the net debt is about \$908,000,000, which is just \$23,000,000 less than the face of the interest-bearing public debt of the United States July 1, 1902. The interest payments for the year amount to over \$45,000,000. There has been some outcry against the rapidity with which the municipal debts have been piling up, but when the municipal resources are placed side by side with the liabilities it appears that there is little real cause for concern. The cities are perfectly and safely solvent, for while the gross debt is \$1,148,000,000, the combined assets have a valuation of almost double that amount—\$2,244,000,000. An enumeration of what these assets consist of runs the entire gamut of municipal activities, both old and new. Besides cash in the treasury, uncollected taxes, and cash and bonds in the sinking fund, they include city halls, police stations, engine houses, schools, libraries, art galleries, museums, parks, jails, workhouses, reformatories, hospitals, asylums, almshouses, docks and wharves, ferries and bridges, markets, cemeteries, bath-houses, pools, beaches, water-works, gas-works, electric light plants, etc.

It is not possible, even were this the place, to trace the extension of old municipal activities and the assumption of new ones. Cities, as a rule, have not extended their functions with any degree of uniformity or regularity. Each city, acting independently, has developed its activities under the stimulus of local sentiment, inspired almost wholly by local conditions. Some have taken up functions which others have not. Some took up one new activity first and others assumed it later. It is possible, here, however, to

make the general statement that the widening of the field of governmental endeavor in cities, variously discussed under the phrase "municipalization of natural monopolies," and the more indefinite term, "municipal socialism," has been due to a resistless demand by the city dwellers themselves for better, safer and more wholesome conditions of living.

All the functions of city governments are divided by Professor Bryce into three groups: "(a) those which are delegated by the state out of its general coercive and administrative powers, including the police power . . . ; (b) those which, though done under general laws, are properly matters of local charge and subject to local regulation, such as education and the care of the poor; and (c) those which are not so much of a political as of a purely business order, such as the paving and cleansing of streets, the maintenance of proper drains, the provision of water and light." There is no clear-cut line between these groups. In its broadest sense, indeed, the "police power" embraces all, or parts of all, of these functions. This grouping, perhaps, is the best general one which can be made. At any rate, it suits the present purpose in that it provides a convenient classification, by means of which a more intelligent view may be had of the extent to which the 135 cities now under consideration exercise their diversified functions.

The combined police force of the 135 cities numbers over 29,000 men; and the darker side of municipal life is suggested in the statement that these policemen made over 916,000 arrests during the last municipal year. Quite apart from the \$20,000,000 invested in penal institutions, over \$15,900,000 of the public funds are invested in property, including land, buildings, apparatus, etc., exclusively used by the police departments, and the annual expenditure for maintenance is over \$35,700,000. While the annual cost of operating the police departments is more than double the amount of the invested capital in this department, exactly the reverse is true in the case of the fire departments. The total capital invested is almost \$46,000,000, while the annual expenditure for maintenance is almost \$23,000,000. The whole number of firemen, including regulars, call-men and

volunteers, is almost 36,000. The total property loss by fires for the last municipal year was about \$39,000,000. The combined departments own 8,864 of the finest horses. In this connection the city of Bayonne, N. J., presents a rather unusual case. Here is a city of over 32,000 inhabitants and its fire department owns but one horse. A footnote explains that 23 others are "hired as needed." It may be only a coincidence that Bayonne's property loss by fire, last year, was \$3,200,000, the third largest loss in all these 135 cities.

Education and the care of the poor have been matters of public initiative and control since the earliest days of the American nation. In 1647 the legislature of Massachusetts enacted a compulsory education law—the beginning of what has since grown to be one of the most impressive exhibits in this statistical view of American cities. In these 135 municipalities there are over 5,700 public school buildings, and in all the branches of the public school system is employed an army of over 68,000 teachers. The total public investment in school property, including land, buildings and apparatus, is over \$250,000,000 and the annual expenditure for maintenance is over \$64,000,000. In the development of the public education idea have come libraries, museums, art galleries, etc., and the municipal investment in this class of property is over \$42,000,000, requiring an annual expenditure for maintenance of \$2,800,000.

The growth of the altruistic spirit and the extent to which American cities recognize the obligation of society to protect and care for the unfit, the weak, and the unfortunate are evidenced in the investment of over \$36,000,000 in hospitals, asylums, almshouses, etc., requiring an annual expenditure of over \$12,000,000.

The purely business functions of municipalities—the care and repair of streets, the maintenance of water supplies and sewerage systems, etc., are what most interest the average citizen, for these activities touch the urban-dweller at every point of his daily life. The most conspicuous success has been attained in this group of municipal activities in the construction and administration of public water-



works. The investment in this class of public property in these 135 cities is over \$440,000,000, which is within \$75,000,000 of the total municipal ownership of water-works in the whole country. Thirty-five of the cities do not own and operate water-works. In the whole country about 53 per cent. of the water-works are under public ownership. In the 135 cities the annual expenditure for the maintenance of water-works is over \$15,000,000.

The second natural monopoly which has attracted the investment of municipal funds is the lighting of cities, although the trespass upon the private initiative in this field has been almost nothing as compared with the public ownership of water supplies. Of the 135 cities only five have public gas-works and 12 own electric light plants. The total investment in both classes of property is over \$10,000,000, about half in one class and half in the other. The amount paid by all the cities to private corporations for lighting, last year, was over \$13,600,000.

The total ordinary expenditure on the streets of the 135 cities for the last fiscal year was about \$36,000,000, of which \$13,600,000 was for lighting, \$11,000,000 for cleaning and sprinkling, and \$11,000,000 for all other purposes. Although the assets of the municipalities do not include a dollar of the investments in roads and highways, the expenditure for the construction of streets last year alone amounted to almost \$27,000,000. The total amount of the public money invested in bridges and ferries is over \$92,000,000, and over \$77,000,000 are invested in docks and wharves.

The protection of the public health was one of the first social duties to be assumed by municipalities and it led to the assumption of some of the comparatively newer functions, such as the public water supply. The annual ordinary expenditure of the health departments of the 135 cities amounts to the comparatively insignificant sum of \$3,600,000. To this very properly may be added the \$3,000,000 annual expenditure for the maintenance of sewerage systems, a portion of the expenditure for cleaning and watering streets, and so on down through several of the

city departments, where the outlay is primarily for the protection of the public health, although for convenience of administration the actual work is done by other departments.

The public parks movement, which has swept the country of recent years like a great tidal wave, at bottom is an effort to protect and conserve the public health. The extent of this excitement can be appreciated in the statement that over \$580,000,000 of the public money has been invested in parks in these cities. This is the largest single item in the combined assets—a little more than one-quarter of the total. The annual expenditure for the maintenance of parks and gardens is over \$6,000,000.

Cumulative statistics, such as the investment of over \$9,000,000 in public cemeteries, and \$19,000,000 in public markets, might be given, almost without limit, all bearing on the increasingly large operations of city governments and all showing the widely varied phases of municipal activity.

From this statistical survey of the 135 largest cities in the United States, however, the American people may get some rough conception of the largeness of the problem now confronting them. It must be borne in mind that the statistics are not complete, although they are as perfect as possible in view of the utter lack of uniformity in municipal accounting. But after all allowances for incompleteness and errors are made, there still is an impressive significance in this vast picture of municipal life in this country which we get from these figures. They show how far we have progressed in the effort to readjust ourselves to the new and peculiar social conditions of urban population. They glow, too, with the promise of hope for the future—that time when the city beautiful is no more a dream; when the evils of the present have all been swept away; when city environment helps instead of hurts the development of the race; and when civic virtue thrives in an atmosphere created in the transition from a struggle with the worst to a striving for the best of life.

## THE PUBLIC KINDERGARTEN IN CIVIC GROWTHS

CONSTANCE MACKENZIE DURHAM

We are agreed that education is a preparation for contacts. We live by contacts and we learn by them. But in speaking to-day of education, I limit myself to the technical significance of the term. And of the various stages of education, I select that stage which is represented by the kindergarten.

The fullest exemplification of the kindergarten idea I find in the really representative public kindergarten. The public kindergarten, rather than the free or private kindergarten, holds closest parallel to the life of a city. The public kindergarten, at its best, is cosmopolitan. In it all sorts and conditions of children meet one another on equal footing. No matter what his father may be or have, a child in the kindergarten is just a child. He stands and falls on what he is and does. My experience is, that neither private kindergarten nor the free kindergarten affords this important educational opportunity of mixed companionship to the same degree as does the public kindergarten. And I regard it as a most valuable equipment toward future good citizenship. The price necessarily attached to the private kindergarten makes admission prohibitive to the very poor, while the element of charity inherent in the free kindergarten deters the wealthy and the well-to-do from lending it their patronage in the interest of their own children. The taxpayers in every citizen's family, be it high or humble, support the public kindergarten. Therefore, it excludes none, either by reason of price or of pride.

The experiences of the kindergarten, in common with all subsequent right educational steps, are systematically organized experiences, distributed and concentrated in such a way as to give a child a practical experience of the reciprocity between himself, as one, and all others, as many.



The farthest reaching principle of the kindergarten idea is precisely this of what Froebel calls the member-whole—*glied-ganzes*. The Spaniards have a proverb, "No hay hombre sin hombre," and this well expresses the kindergarten idea of the reaction of the individual and the community upon each other. All other ideas grow out of it and are subservient to it. This is the idea at the base of all good government. It is the kindergarten idea *par excellence*—the idea which, if carried out with all the children from kindergarten to the university, will prove the successful rival of every unpatriotic and self-seeking organization of citizens, and the more than adequate substitute for every movement for municipal reform.

I want, then, to demonstrate the following propositions: *First*. The nature of the method of the kindergarten in dealing with childish experiences. *Second*. The bearing of the experience of the kindergarten upon civic growths.

And, as introductory to the main matter of my paper, it may be well to ask, What are some of the problems of city life?

"Bossism," politics, pure water, light, transit, popular education, the opening of breathing places to the people, free parks, art galleries, museums, city architecture. These are a few of many issues which confront the public-spirited citizens. The years are rung in and the years are rung out. Over and over, we witness the lamentable failure of the reform element to reach the needs of the voters. A recent newspaper reports a representative committee gathering at a political club; and, although this was not a "reform" gathering, what was then said by the political leaders contains, to my mind, the key to the failure of present reform methods to reform. In speaking of a statement to the effect that one-third of the precincts of his city are without a minority representation, owing to the machinations of the majority, he continued: "The chief trouble seems to be that those who are known as 'the better class of citizens' are afraid to rub elbows with the common people on election day." The significance of this assertion, which, as

we all know, has only too much truth in it, is so profound and far-reaching that in seeking its cause we are led back step by step to the beginning of its development in early childhood.

A child who has had early, natural and free contacts with all sorts of people, regardless of that un-American thing called "class," is going to have no fear of "touching elbows" with any class of his fellow citizens when he shall have grown to manhood. Such ideas, unlike Topsy, do not "just grow." They are inculcated by adult precept and example and by the exclusion of a various association. "I don't like that little girl," remarked a daintily-dressed five year old, pointing to the picture of another child which the children were examining. "Why not?" "Because she hasn't any shoes on." That child had missed the advantage of an inspiring contact with all sorts of children, just as children. In later years her son would probably go to swell that element of the unfortunate "better class of citizens" who fear to "rub elbows" with the common people.

To say that the experiences of the kindergarten are drawn from the institutions of civilized society and from nature is to say nothing at all. There is nowhere else from which a child of the present civilization can draw them. But it does mean something to say that contacts supplied by the kindergarten are in their nature universal, not particular and accidental. When a possible experience is so far-reaching that it comes home directly or indirectly to every child as a personal interest, then, says the kindergarten, let every one share in it. The fact that it is of universal interest makes it a legitimate rally-point for educational suggestion. With this thought in mind the kindergartner plans the children's excursions; all sorts of excursions; excursions to things, to places, to people. And, after the child's little being has been filled to overflowing with the joy of going, and seeing, and hearing, and handling; after he has looked upon the ways and the lives of other people and of things, then he, of his own accord and with joyous spontaneity, gives them all out again in the form of games and plays. He reproduces them through

the use of the much-misunderstood kindergarten material, making men and nature live for him as he has seen them live for themselves; digging, planting, watering; cherishing the life of the animal from egg, cocoon or tender youth; transforming material like the workingman; in short, expressing himself through the protean forms of institutional and natural life. All that abounding life other than his own becomes his birthright by reason of his imitation of it. By every dramatic reproduction of an alien life he transmutes the element of strangeness and remoteness into familiarity and closeness. Contact with life, together with his childish reproduction of contact, does exactly what it says it does; it puts him in sympathetic touch with forms of life other than his own.

Every experience which the kindergarten makes possible to the children is selected with a view to the largeness of its relation. What naturally develops through the child's kindergarten experience must be ideas which introduce him to process, to productiveness, as in the industries; to co-operative service, as in the state; to the necessary and reciprocal reaction of great and small, as in the family; to personal responsibility, as in tendance on plant and animal life. These and other comprehensive thoughts dictate the choice of kindergarten experiences. There is nothing arbitrary about it. Other kinds of contacts will come uninvited to the children outside of the life of the kindergarten. The kindergarten must reckon with them in the effect they have upon the character, but it must make better use of its limited time than to make them its choice. The children see the scissors grinder in the street outside, but it is not to the scissors grinder that the excursions of the kindergarten lead them. It is to the larger labor of the farmer, the miller, the baker, the mother in the home, in order that the ideas of unbroken process, of productiveness and relativity may stand out in strong relief.

"The point of contact," to use a phrase made famous by Mr. Dubois, is the child's little cake or bit of bread which he eats at his breakfast table or his kindergarten



lunch. The visits he makes to the farm, and mill, and shop form the overflow material for his sympathetic reproduction through work or play. First, the accumulation of material, then the use of it. First the excursion, then the expression concerning the excursion. That is the child's own way of doing it. That is the way of the kindergarten or it would be moving up stream.

There is another kind of experience which the kindergarten provides right within its walls. That other experience is the joint individual and co-operative nature of the children's life among themselves. Here no excursions are needed and no reproductions. The children are the points of contact and their own experiences. Here they are not only in touch with life, they are life in very earnest. A child goes to work and the result becomes his own property. He sews and weaves and paints, and models, and the product of his industry is his to do with as he may choose. Again, he goes to work for the sake of the kindergarten in joint action with the other children. His work, perhaps, forms part of a decorative design for the common room, or of a gift in common for a chosen friend. He has his own garden to tend. He is responsible for its appearance. The other children protect him in his ownership in it. Again, he turns in with many children for the care of the common bit of garden plot, the property of all. He takes his turn at placing chairs, serving lunches, distributing materials. When his turn is over, he gives way to others who, in their turn, serve him. The individual has his place and his right, but the community-right is larger and comes first. He may not like this order of things; but if his dislike of it becomes so marked as to disturb the community, it joins against them to set him aside until he shall have learned the hard lesson of the relation of the one to the whole.

This, then, is the much-discussed, often-criticised "artificial" method of the kindergarten—this of providing conditions which the children would not necessarily chance upon by themselves, and of organizing them for educational ends. If it be artificial to select the better,

the more permanent, the more nearly universal experiences of life and to set children down in the midst of them rather than to choose the scattered, the haphazard, the not-always-virtuous contacts of the street for early schooling, then the kindergarten does do this "artificial" thing. So do all careful parents when they exclude from the home harmful influences.

Up to this point, if I have done nothing more, I ought to have demonstrated clearly what personal and communal virtues grow of necessity out of the kindergarten idea, and its way of selecting and organizing contacts. I ought to have suggested how a child's natural and proper instinct for the protection of his own interests comes to include a desire to protect other people's interests as well as his own. I ought to have shown that, while this sympathy has its point of departure in concern for himself, it has its outcome in a concern for others along with himself, and this through the reactions which directly affect him in the mutual relations which exist between himself and his society. That this altruistic outcome has its root in a distinctly selfish feeling of closer sympathy with himself than with every body and thing outside of himself, by no means marks it as an unworthy feeling. It simply means that he knows himself more intimately than he does anybody or anything else. It is an argument for extending to the utmost his acquaintance with the best people and things, to give an opportunity to the community-feeling to increase and wax strong.

Here, then, in the individual-community idea, is the broad ground on which the kindergarten meets the citizen. Everything else is merely detail. It is very important detail, however, and perhaps I cannot better illustrate the parallels to be drawn between kindergarten and city life and indicate the effect of the one upon the other, than by reminding you of the problems which, in my introduction, were pointed out as incident to every municipal government. These were the problems of city economics, service, health, convenience, education, and of necessary reform along all these lines.

In observing the method employed by public-spirited citizens to meet these issues, it is curious to note that widely different as are these questions one principle rules in their adjustment. That is the principle which I have called the kindergarten idea, the idea which directs civilization and makes it possible, the idea of the member-whole, the individual and the community unified and inseparable. "There is no man without man." The absolutely solitary man is an impossibility. So, in a city, municipal growths proceed through combination. The kindergarten child has learned this long ago. In order to effect their municipal purposes, men and women form all sorts of clubs, societies, associations, leagues, organizations. This, too, did the kindergarten child, working in groups, here for one purpose, there for another, learning the value of a helping hand. On a little railroad run which I have been taking somewhat frequently of late, I have been interested in the signs over doors and gates—signs suggestive of just this principal of co-operation. "Day Nursery," one reads. "Boys' Parlor" is another; still a third says, "Children's Playground under the protection of the Women's Park Association." These signs mean that one set of citizens have come together for the benefit of another set of citizens. They give cheerful service, protection and relief to little children and working mothers. They give the boys a chance away from the street. They open breathing places for children under the big trees and the fresh grass, where their natural play instinct may have full scope. So does the child in the kindergarten give of his strength and time, give something of all he has, cheerfully and to the public service.

Look at the names of a few of the city organizations and see in them the kinship of the purposes they indicate with the daily doings in the public kindergarten around your corner: The Law and Order Society, The Park Associations, The Botanical Club, The Forestry Association, The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, The Audubon Society, The Art Club, The Treble Clef, The Orpheus Club, The Literary Associations, The Mu-



nicipal Club, The Civic Club, The Public Education Association, The Prison Association. These are only a random few of the dozens of organizations whose points of departure trace their pedigree to home and kindergarten, through an illustrious line of right educational contacts, with the university as the first step back. Are not the names of the societies I have cited recalled by a sight of the children at their orderly, law-directed games; the children on their excursions to woody nooks and parks, and returning to dig and plant and foster. The children in their visit to the barnyard, and returning to the care of their kindergarten pets. The children beautifying their room with flowers and leaves, drinking in the unconscious influence of good pictures, choosing and combining color and form, painting, modeling. The children learning the use of good language by using it, listening to good poems and fine prose, hearing good stories and telling them over again. The children quieting under good music, brightening under it, singing it, choosing their favorites and listening to the favorites of their playmates. The children relating their experiences with the postman, the policeman and other servants of the city, giving and receiving willing service, selecting leaders, declaring themselves for and against room reform and administration. The children reacting in a body, upon a child as individual, by setting him aside for a time in order to protect the well-being of their community? Here, in the every-day experiences of any good kindergarten, are to be found in little the many phases of the problems of a city.

But the kindergarten offers a special advantage: namely, the opportunity for the practice of citizenship before real civic duties present themselves. It is a sort of natural training school for citizenship. Theory is a necessary preliminary to performance, even when the doer is not sufficiently enlightened in his work to be aware that he holds a theory. But practice is the test of theory. Right here in the kindergarten, our six-year-olds are unconsciously testing theories of life through problems which will arise, willy-nilly, even in a child's life, as soon as that

child begins to come in contact with other children. The children solve these problems for themselves. But the wise eye is upon them, the suggestive word awaits their need, the helping hand adjusts conditions and provides the material for the children to act against. The master-mind of the kindergarten—for such it ought to be—permits mistakes it is true, but, at the same time, it prevents the fumbling apprentice from the discouragement of the unnecessary stumble.

The beginning of things great in their consummation are in one sense greater than their end—in the same sense as that which we mean when we say, “the child is the father of the man.” For the start dictates the direction.

“—— If one step’s awry, one budge  
Calls for correction by a step we thought  
Got over long since; why, ’till that is wrought,  
No progress!——”

The beginning—a little child—may, in its consummation, be the statesman or the traitor. The builders of the “city beautiful” will be men and women of such beginnings, bountiful in the sympathy and understanding which come of an abundance of life-giving contacts, eager for the human touch of the high and lowly, large of view and temperate of judgment. Such are the citizens whom we have a right to expect as an outcome of the kindergartens. Such are the citizens who will so manifold the kindergarten that not a child in the remotest nook and corner of our country searched by the public school shall fail of his opportunity, through the public kindergartens, to lend a hand toward right civic growths.

## THE FARM BOY'S TRIUMPH

J. S. CRAWFORD

There is so much difference between farm life and city life that we come easily to regard people as belonging to one or the other of these two great classes. The line which divides them is distinctly drawn and, where farmers are poor, it is closely guarded, especially by town and city folk. So true is this that the words "granger," "Reub," "hayseed," "rustic," etc., have come to express with technical nicety a sort of comical disdain entertained by urban people for their country cousins. In our own country this classification into city and country life is elemental and comprehensive. Now, I want to inquire whether the greater probability of success lies in a group of country boys or in a group of city boys.

Does the boy with better chance make the better man? If so, the inquiry is commonplace and should be dismissed as unimportant. Does the boy with the poorer chance make the better man? If so, an interesting fact is disclosed, one that needs an explanation and that is bound to attract the attention of thinking men.

In every man's experience are certain dominant facts which stand out like finger-boards pointing to results, sometimes expected and sometimes unexpected. In the history of every community are certain predominant facts relating to the destiny of boys, sometimes expected, sometimes unexpected. No exact rule can be laid down for analyzing human nature or predicting human experience. Hence I can point out general tendencies only, and discuss the balance of probabilities only. First, there is the question of opportunity; second, of results; third, of the reasons for the results.

First. In the very nature of things, eminence and distinction can be attained in the city only. This is to the advantage of the boy raised in the city. He may attend the public school and acquire an education far beyond anything



possible in the country—far beyond anything conceived by directors of country schools. He may acquire the classic languages, with French and German. He may master the rudiments of physical science and advance well into mathematics—that greatest triumph of the human mind. He may become well grounded in history, political economy, mental science and international law—all without costing him a dollar for tuition or board. In evening schools he may learn book-keeping, commercial law and commercial methods. He may attend an industrial school and acquire a vast fund of practical knowledge concerning the mechanical and industrial arts. I know of nothing that will help a young man to interpret the spirit of the present better than a course in electrical, mining or civil engineering. Subsidiary to his school advantages are the chances which a city boy has to hear the popular lectures of the day. Every Sunday he may listen to sermons expressing the best thought in the best way. He may attend Sunday-schools where teachers narrate the biographies of great men and expound the philosophies of the greatest men. The city boy, too, has access to libraries, beautiful art galleries and interesting museums, where he may find history condensed, history concrete. In the courts of law he may hear distinguished pleaders; in schools of medicine he may listen to gifted doctors and demonstrators; in the contests of politicians he may inform himself with the current thought of great statesmen, legislators and public men. Then he has the daily papers by which to keep informed on the present.

I am not one of those who condemn the drama. Few things will impress a young man more deeply than "Shore Acres" or "Hazel Kirke." Few things will acquaint him with the settings of history better than "Julius Caesar" or "Cyrano de Bergerac," staged well and played well. Neither do I know anything that will carry a man's esthetic sense into higher pleasures than a great chorus in grand opera. It is wonderful how the melody of tones and the harmony of chords interpret the noble thought and the subtle feeling of a master. Pleyel's hymn touches the soul with pity, while the Marsellaise hymn of Rouget de l'Isle is

the prayer of a soldier and the incarnation of war. It would seem that every sentiment of the human heart may be touched into action with sounds of music.

In the practical work-a-day world it is hard to find a limit to the opportunity of the city boy for improvement. He has only to use his eyes. The sub-structure and super-structure of massive buildings, the architecture of rich men's homes, park construction, street construction, wharves, docks, piers, perhaps ocean steamers and battle ships, mills, factories and dépôts of distribution; merchandise, articles of luxury from every region of the commercial world; the markets and market-places are before this city lad. He may inspect them, he may inquire about them, he may study them, he may lay up a vast amount of information concerning them. Better yet, he may lay the foundation for friendships among sensible men who will interest themselves in his behalf, taking a pride in his growing mind and expanding range of information.

This young man learns to dress in good taste, to appear well. He learns social forms and is refined in the courtesies of polite society. His manners become natural. He is self-contained and self-possessed. He meets ladies with ease. He addresses men of influence without restraint. He learns the art of companionship. This same young man is pleasant of face, supple of limb, quick of eye, alert, smart, witty, attractive. I am not writing of the very wealthy nor yet of the very poor. All the opportunities of which I write are open to the great middle-class city boy. Most of them, excluding the high-school and the opera, are open to the poor-class city boy. Nor am I writing of the depraved and degraded. It is the boy with average instincts, aspirations and ambitions I have in mind. Certainly, I have not overdrawn the chance for acquiring facts, training the mind and learning the ways of the world.

In these complex surroundings, vivified and colored with all the pleasures of human life, large fortunes are made, opulent benefactions are established and masterful men rise to supremacy. It is in the city that intellect and genius demonstrate themselves. In order to satisfy his

ambition, therefore, the city boy is not compelled to change his surroundings or his situation. From the very threshold of his father's house he sees the smokestack of the rolling-mill; he hears the steam whistles of shops and factories; he can see the domes, spires, towers or steeples of churches, school-houses, court-houses, counting-houses, printing-offices, hospitals, galleries, synagogues and temples. They are the avenues to success; about them there is no mystery; through them there is nothing to "refrain his footsteps"—such is the opportunity of the city boy.

Turning now to the question of opportunity for the country boy, we find it more difficult to write. Much of his time is spent with horses and oxen. As he drives against the northwest wind, water-drops roll from his eyes, a ruddy glint comes into his face, already mellowed with tan and freckles. This boy's hands are chapped. His fingers are large and stiff. His clothing is often faded, soiled, worn, and, maybe, patched. His body is strong but awkward. In town the street urchins assail him with ridicule; he hears the cry of "high-ball" and "rubber-neck." At home the country boy learns to do chores. In school he learns to like geography and arithmetic, to hate grammar and composition. He learns to like the story of Lincoln, with his maul and iron wedge. His heart beats with enthusiasm as he reads of Daniel Boone, Patrick Henry and the Hebrew prophets. He hates Aaron Burr, the old tory leaders and the intrigue of scoundrels. In the little church, with its narrow aisles and stuffy corners, he hears sermons—shall I say it?—devoid of color and destitute of information. His political views are inspired by county campaigns. He becomes a partisan. He rejoices in the success of his candidate for the legislature. The future of the country looks dark when his member of congress fails to be re-elected. He reads a newspaper printed at the county seat. His father takes a religious paper, a general weekly and a market bulletin. In the house are a dozen books, bought from colporteurs and seedy-looking agents. Among them is a "History of the Bible," "Sher-



man's March to the Sea," "The Home Doctor," and a large volume of poems on flowers.

In mechanical processes this boy's observation is confined to shoeing horses and repairing plows; to building corn-cribs and farm dwellings. Almost the only factory he sees is a creamery and a wagon-shop. In art, this country boy sees a few chromos and engravings selected with reference to no subject and no standard of taste. He has heard the church tunes and knows a few polkas and hornpipes. He has been to the circus once, a twenty-five cent theatre on occasion, and to church socials without number. This boy sleeps in a good bed, has a wholesome palate, knows the rudiments of baseball and shares the prejudice of his people.

By and by he learns to plow and plant, to cultivate, reap and thresh. He knows how to feed and fatten stock, to drive a sulky-plow, to operate a self-binder and set up a hay-loader. Further on this boy learns to break a colt, to match a span of horses, and to pick out the best pig or bullock in the herd. He keeps his word without learning how—that was inborn. But he does learn to defend himself with his tongue, mayhap with his fist. He may have drunk a little beer, played some fifteen-ball pool and raced horses up the back lane of his father's farm. He hates show and false pretence, despises the woman with a powdered face and the sandy man with a dyed mustache.

Still this young farmer is not satisfied. In truth, he is deeply discontented. He feels that there is a mysterious power in the earth, and air, and rain and sunshine. He knows that they build up yellow corn in one hill and white corn in another. So far as he can see the roots and stalks and blades and blossoms are alike. "Out of the blackest dirt comes the whitest rose." Has this a lesson for him? Does the best man come out of the hardest conditions?

Ambition has a place in this brave young heart. He must know something about the world, about the way things are done in the world, and he must do something! So he finds his way to the city. It matters not whether it

be to a college, a doctor's office, to a lawyer's office, to an engineer's office or to the office of a railroad superintendent. He is gone, and he is gone because he has outgrown the opportunity of a country boy. Shall we hear of him again? Not for ten or twenty years. What is he doing meanwhile? Taking care of his own room and making his own bed—sometimes he cooks his own meals and darns his only suit of ready-made clothing, short in the legs and shorter in the sleeves. He struggles with his books, struggles with his classes and struggles to get a position. What wonder if this raw, awkward, verdant country boy, unkempt and unlearned in the life of city people, should be lost in the world's fierce competition?

Second. After twenty years or so, the formative influence operating on this young man has spent its force and we come to a consideration of results. Eight governors of states report themselves as country-born to one raised in the city. Three-fourths of the judges of the supreme court of the United States were farmer's sons. Eighty per cent. of our United States senators and congressmen were raised in country homes. Only two presidents of this republic were born and bred in city life. The best information available leads me to believe that a great majority of railroad managers, factory superintendents, civil engineers, bankers, editors, clergymen, lawyers, doctors, merchants, and scientists—in short, men of execution—men who control the present and modify the future—came from the country. Not one town boy in a hundred succeeds on a farm, while most of the cities are ruled by men who one day carried water to the field and sheaves to shock.

Third. To my mind the cause at the bottom of these results is discontent. Moralists claim that surroundings in the country conduce to peace of mind. If that were true, migration to the country would be greater than migration into the city. It is not. It will not do to say that the city boy is depraved and degraded, lazy and untruthful. If, in the city, there be greater temptation for boys to go wrong there is also greater inducement for them to go right. If

vice be organized to lead boys down, virtue is organized to lead them up. You will find just as many goody-goody boys in the city as you will in the country, and they are just as worthless. Surely, if a people are satisfied, they will not advance. Discontent is at the bottom of progress. There may be discontent in the city, but there is more of it in the country, hence the great desire of the country boy to improve his condition. This greater desire impels him to greater effort. The city boy is more nearly satisfied. His ambition is not so keen, neither is his aspiration so strong. At the age of twenty he has imbibed from his surroundings more knowledge of the world than most farmers at thirty. There is such a thing as mental congestion or stagnation. It comes from too much learning or from a too-highly refined education. The natural intelligence of a boy ought to be developed by artificial intelligence, not destroyed or paralyzed. The man is to be pitied who knows a great many systematized facts, and yet can not make his own living. If there be three professors of Chaldee where one is needed, two will be helpless. If there be three wood-choppers where one is needed, the other two can husk corn or dig potatoes. Now, the city boy, with his suavity, refined education and polite manners, lacks the adaptability of his country competitors. His feet are educated to pavements, his touch to finished products, his eye to artistic landscapes. Contact with rough and crude material disconcerts him. He is familiar with satins and velvets, with concords and harmonies, with shades and tints, with palates and the dishes which serve them. He lacks persistent effort, because he lacks the inciting cause to effort—discontent. Of course, I am speaking of rational acts, not those of passion or caprice.

As I look at it, then, discontent is the primary cause of progress. It stimulates men to work for more than the necessities, and it interprets the reason for the farm boy's great success. Reinforcing this cause is a method of development. We develop in two ways—from within and from without. Coming in contact with a great volume and variety of extrinsic facts, the mind of the city boy be-



comes acute and quick to apprehend; soon curiosity is satisfied and lethargy sets in. Ambition and indifference do not subsist together. Contrariwise, the country boy learns to think, to reflect, to comprehend, to reason and to use what facts he acquires. This subjective method develops perseverance and courage; from them emanates hope. Let a man be excited to action by discontent; let him have patience, courage and hope; let him have the power to think clearly, with facts sufficient to inform his judgment and he will ignore opposition. The world recognizes these forces, organized to produce results, in its great admiration of foresight, will power and accomplishment. Even a narrow man may be a dangerous competitor, because of his capacity for concentration, but he never excites admiration.

The qualities which I set down as sufficient unto success beget earnestness—an earnest man is apt to be an honest man. He depends upon himself; he impresses that self upon others. He becomes an employer. He originates, contrives, leads. He wants good schools, good churches, good roads. He favors and founds institutions. His life-work is blended with those things that elevate society and ameliorate the conditions of those around him.

As a corollary to my position, let me cite the fact that in every country neighborhood there are a few contented people. They have dogs and children, liking both. They shoot rabbits by daylight, and procure melons or roasting-ears by starlight. They migrate from hovels to hospitals, and finally bring up at the poor-house or penitentiary.

Now, a few words more about the town boy. He makes a good clerk, a good book-keeper, a pleasant companion. He comes to be a little faded and to look a little seedy. He comes to lose some of his old-time contentment, but he still learns to dance a cotillion or play a game of cards with half the effort of his employer,—his employer, once a farm boy, now a benefactor.

## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

THE CONDUCT of the corporations in the coal strike has been a puzzle to everybody. President Baer has solved the mystery by announcing that "the rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God, in His infinite wisdom, has given control of the property interests of the country." Nothing has ever emanated from the "divinely appointed" ruler of all the Russias, or any other absolute potentate, more arrogant, more insulting to manhood, more repugnant to the true Christian spirit and to common sense, or to the idea of democracy, than this. Such a notion is intolerable in this country. Personal freedom and property rights must suffer and ultimately perish under any régime of government based upon such a theory.

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THE ELECTION of William S. Devery as the recognized leader of the Tammany forces in the Ninth election district in New York city is a significant event. He is probably the most brazenly corruptible and corrupting man in public life in New York, if not in the United States. His success was not the result of a dictatorial conspiracy, but of the most thoroughly public, frank, straightforward and above-board canvass of the district. There were two other candidates striving for the place, but Mr. Devery adopted the lowest and most brazenly debauching use of money, beer and abuse that he could invent. Several weeks of the free distribution of these, and all the exposure that the press of the city and the other candidates could furnish, and Mr. Devery won, high and dry. His election as leader of the district gives him a seat in the highest councils of Tammany Hall, and he is without doubt the most truly representative person in that august body. His success under these circumstances furnishes an unerring picture of the Tammany character. Bad is Tammany, and Devery is its prophet.

"Yet the sound of weeping for them [the New York shop girls] is scarcely heard in their streets, but, strange to say, right from that quarter wells up a gushing gurgle of holy hysteria about the education of whites and negroes alike in the South, the terrible 'benighted' and 'backward' South—hysterics vociferously and enthusiastically echoed by dreamers about 'child slavery' in southern cotton-mills. Bah!"—*Manufacturers' Record*.

"It is sufficient answer to this organ of southern industry to say that southern men and women are in the forefront of the battle for the children, and that such help as they are receiving from the North is in response to their appeals for aid and their readiness to criticise their own institutions and laws. The northern newspapers which have spoken out manfully against this outrage are, moreover, not open to the charge of criticising the South from a holier-than-thou point of view, because they have freely and readily admitted that the responsibility for the existing conditions rests largely with the northern capitalists who deliberately determined to employ children of tender age and to defeat all corrective legislation."—*New York Evening Post*.

THE *Evening Post* expresses the sentiment of the progressive journals and enlightened public opinion of the country, South as well as North. The ill-natured scolding by the *Manufacturers' Record* of all who favor this humane movement is happily the striking exception among southern journals. The more the movement increases in popularity the louder the *Record* rages, until its storming has really become a sign of progress.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S address at Cincinnati is unmistakably the strongest public utterance he has made during his speaking itinerary. He states the different points of view with clearness and precision, and gives a mortal blow to the theory that tariff reduction is a cure for the evils of trusts. He made, with telling emphasis, the point so often presented in these pages, that to whatever extent a reduction of tariff would cripple the very large corporations it would more seriously injure the small ones in the same industry, and entire removal of protective duties would be fatal to the small concerns.

Thus, the effect of that policy would be, not to lessen the monopolistic element in large corporations, but to increase it by killing all the small competitors. If the tariff



has any effect at all upon the prosperity of these concerns, it has the most helpful effect on the small ones. Its tendency, therefore, is to insure competition by perpetuating the existence of the smaller competitors. The result of protection is to help wholesome competition among domestic industries, and not to foster monopoly. The abolition of protection would be to destroy competition and make monopoly much more easy to accomplish.

Much of the president's Cincinnati speech was sound and strong, and his best friends might well wish that he had delivered none other.

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"The editor of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE quoted with some amplitude from us what we had to say about the business inconvenience of tariff revision; but he took good care not to reprint what we had to say as reasons why, in spite of this temporary inconvenience, a revision of the tariff should be speedily undertaken."—*Boston Herald*, Sept. 22nd.

IF THERE IS any danger that a single reader of this magazine should suspect the *Herald* of being opposed to tariff revision, we hasten to correct that impression. It never was guilty of such an offence. The *Herald* has been ready, on all occasions, to aid in lowering the tariff under any available pretext.

The point of the quotation was to call attention to the fact that "such a pronounced advocate of tariff revision as the *Boston Herald*" admits that "even a republican tariff revision would tend to temporarily, at least, depress business activity." That our readers should not suspect the *Herald* of being opposed to tariff revision merely because it would create a disturbance, we quoted the following:

"But to those who have at heart the best interests of the American people, both now and hereafter, the fact that the taking of a necessary dose of medicine for a really serious disease produces a temporary nausea, furnishes not the least reason for refusing to take it."

The only difference between GUNTON'S MAGAZINE and the *Boston Herald* is, that we prefer business prosperity to tariff revision, and the *Herald* prefers tariff revision to business prosperity.

SENATOR MASON, of Illinois, has announced his intention of introducing a bill into congress to protect the interests of the public in labor conflicts like the present coal strike. The bill is to empower the government in such cases to authorize the attorney-general to appoint a receiver for the property, and continue the business until laborers and mine owners can come to terms by arbitration, or otherwise.

Simultaneously with this comes a pamphlet from a prominent member of the Suffolk, Mass., bar, arguing from a common law basis that, when property owners so use their property as to create a public interest in its administration, the public has a constitutional right to participate in the management, under certain conditions. In support of this, he cites the opinion of Chief Justice Waite:

"Property becomes clothed with a public interest when used in a manner to make it of public consequence and affect the community at large. When, therefore, one devotes his property to a use in which the public has an interest, he, in effect, grants to the public an interest in that use, and must submit to be controlled by the public for the common good, to the extent of the interest he has thus created."

All this shows the tendency public opinion is taking and is sure to take if corporations insist upon acting in defiance of the public interest, upon the theory that "God, in His infinite wisdom," has put the whole matter into their hands. The altogether more prevalent notion, and the one that is sure to assert itself with increasing effectiveness, is that "God, in His infinite wisdom," has given control of this matter to the people, and they will proceed to exercise it through various forms of caustic legislation.

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IN THE RETIREMENT of Hon. Andrew D. White as ambassador to Germany, American diplomacy loses one of its strongest representatives. Mr. White combines scholarship, patriotism and devotion to public service in an unusual degree. He not merely represented in Germany the best of American character, and conspicuously guarded all American interests, but he exercised a positive influence

over the German court. He was the real soul of the Hague peace conference.

Hon. Frederick W. Holls, secretary of the American delegation to the peace conference, says that the fact that the peace conference at the Hague did not result in a fiasco was due entirely to the energy and influence of Ambassador White, whom he designates as the "greatest living diplomat." He says that when the conference met it was practically a foregone conclusion that it should be only a courtesy meeting; that the chief concern was to save it from being ridiculous. But Mr. White inspired the American delegation with the idea that it must be taken seriously; that the idea of arbitration and certain other features must be prepared and presented with seriousness and force by the American representatives; and through his influence that was done. It became observable, within the first few days, that a change was coming over the assembled delegates, the veering of being towards the American view, and ultimately the position taken by the American representatives became the accepted position of the others. Whatever there was of usefulness in that conference, and in the arbitration commission resulting from it, Mr. Holls insists, is due to the wisdom, tact, influence and earnestness of Ambassador White.

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IN "AMERICAN INDUSTRIES" for September, Mr. David M. Parry, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, discusses the question: "Will the Arbitrary Eight-hour Work-day Do?" The special measure Mr. Parry is discussing is the proposition to compel all who produce any kind of supplies for the United States government to adopt the eight-hour system. He does not oppose the eight-hour idea, but points out that this particular proposition would subject the firms which do work for the government to an eight-hour system, while their competitors would be working ten hours, which he insists would be a heavy handicap. The following paragraph represents the broad, fair and catholic spirit which pervades the article throughout:



"I hold above all things in connection with this measure that the labor interests of the United States, as far as they are associated with the manufacturing industries, should take us into their confidence and not try to force a bill through congress without consulting our mutual interests. If the proposed bill is against our own interests, we should naturally be expected to oppose the proposition and organized labor should not feel aggrieved over it. If the trades have any confidence in the employers of this country, why should they not ask our advice in the preparation of such a measure?"

If employers generally would take this attitude, the industrial question would very soon lose its acrimonious and belligerent element and become a matter of real economic discussion. Mr. Parry is pre-eminently right in asking that the laborers consult with the employers regarding proposed legislation, but this can only come when the employers are willing to do likewise. It is gratifying that a man with such liberal views should be president of the National Association of Manufacturers.

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IT IS AN INTERESTING study in editorial ethics to observe the opposite uses to which certain journals will put the same argument, according to the topic. Here is an illustration from the *New York Times*. When talking on the tariff it makes use of the same argument to prove the opposite result when talking on trusts. Here are two instances only a few days apart. Replying to a remark of Senator Fairbanks, of Indiana, to the effect that the industrial depression of 1893 was due to the tariff policy of the Cleveland administration, it says:

"This is an exhibition of mental and moral pauperism. It shows a mind empty of living political ideas. . . . It reveals a moral sense shriveled up and deadened, because the utterance is outrageously and notoriously false. No financial disaster or industrial paralysis resulted from the enactment of the Wilson tariff in 1894. The country was already suffering from financial disaster and business alarms occasioned by the Sherman silver coinage act of 1890."

The fact that the depression began in 1893 and the Wilson bill was not enacted until 1894 was used as an argument to prove that the Wilson tariff was not the cause. Just as if the expectation of the Wilson bill did not exercise

its full effect in anticipation, which nobody knew better than the *Times*. A few days later the *Times* had occasion to criticise President Roosevelt's utterances on the trust question, and here shows a thorough familiarity with the principle that the fear that a change of policy is coming is quite as destructive as the change itself:

"Experience has taught us that it is fear of interference with business rather than the actual fact of interference that brings bad times and stagnation. The change in our political system Mr. Roosevelt advocates is so momentous and grave that no man could foretell what would happen under its working. Want of confidence in the future would deter capital from making commitments, the risks of business ordinarily taken would be declined, few contracts would be made save those absolutely necessary, mills and factories would greatly curtail their production and many of them shut down altogether, the wages of labor would be reduced and great numbers of workmen discharged, the prices of all securities would fall, their earning power would be greatly impaired, and in many cases wholly extinguished. Trade would suffer because of the lessened purchasing power of the people, markets would be stagnant, and idle money would accumulate in the banks. These conditions of depression would continue until the apprehended danger had been averted by the political action of the people."

Now this is exactly what occurred after the election of Cleveland in 1893; but when discussing that fact the *Times* purposely tries to mislead its readers as to the true, economic movement at that time. What it says on the trusts is clear, strong, true and convincing. What it says on the tariff is quibbling and confusing, and purposely misleading. With such editorial ethics in the "high-class journals," there need be little wonder at a confused public opinion on all important national questions.

## THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers to them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

### LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

#### Two Views of Ruskin Colony

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Dr. McDill's inside view of the failure of the Ruskin colony, which was printed in the May GUNTON'S, interested me immensely. The editorial reply to Dr. McDill, printed in the same number, was so masterful and so complete that I have felt that further comment from me was not called for. I have long hesitated, too, about precipitating what might develop into a personal controversy in the pages of this admirable magazine, but from this distance perhaps a few words in my own defence may be pardoned.

To Dr. McDill's suggestion that "a little knowledge at first hand" would have prevented "much error" in my article in the December GUNTON'S, I might reply that on the historical facts, so far as I can see, both articles were in essential agreement. Dr. McDill, however, resented my statement that "the people dressed indifferently to the point of slatternliness." My authority was Rev. Charles M. Skinner, whom I quoted at least once in my article, and he got his information "at first hand." He said:

"And you feel a pang when you see these people in their great, bleak dining-room, dressed like hod carriers and kitchen wenches and feeding uncomplainingly on bread, potatoes and bacon, because you see they deserve better."

Dr. McDill also took exception to my remark that the "children ran almost as wild as the razor-backs." To quote Mr. Skinner again:



" . . . Most of them [women] go in wrappers, while their children squat around in the hot sand with naked feet and bare mosquito-bitten shanks. . . ."

Inferentially, Dr. McDill took offence at my suggestion that the internal dissensions in the colony were "due to the fact that a lot of small people were rattling around in a big idea." The adjectives I used wholly in a relative sense. I cannot see but what Dr. McDill made precisely the same statement when he ascribed "ignorance" as one of the three causes of failure, defining ignorance as a "lack of understanding the magnitude of our undertaking."

The chief difference between Dr. McDill and myself relates to the cause or causes of the failure. He said the failure was due to three fundamental errors: "Location, ignorance and a fatal charter." I said that the end came as it had to similar experiments, "because the communal life made the people lazy." He insisted that the whole history of the colony proved that the people were not lazy. There is a fine distinction here, which was clearly brought out by Mr. Robbins' editorial article, but which Dr. McDill failed to see. I think I paid quite as high a tribute to the tenacity, the determination, the heroism of the colonists in their work for the *idea* as Dr. McDill. There is a big difference in working for an idea, or an ideal, and working for one's self or one's neighbors. To quote Mr. Skinner again:

"Still it is to be remembered that this [Georgia] is a climate which imposes laziness and sleepiness on the most active, and also that one of the very reasons for founding a community is to save work."

Finally, I attach little significance to Dr. McDill's statement that there were "authors, artists, doctors, editors and teachers" there. The same may be said of our penal institutions; but to his "guess" that in twenty years the names associated with Ruskin will be "equally famous" with those connected with Brook Farm, I heartily respond: I hope so!

WALTER G. DAVIS.

Cambridge, Mass.

## QUESTION BOX

**An Orderly Strike**

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—What right have strikers to expect the sympathy of the public, when they resort to violence and intimidation to prevent the mines being worked by anybody else?  
A. E. L.

The strikers have no right to expect the sympathy of the public in resorting to violence and intimidation, and they do not expect the sympathy of the public in that. On the contrary, all their leaders now well know that violence injures the strikers' cause with the public, but the public recognizes the obvious fact that the present coal strike has been one of the most orderly strikes, considering its size, that ever took place. This is the more surprising considering the character, intelligence and social state of the laborers involved. Moreover, the public recognize that in Mr. Mitchell the miners have had a more rational, intelligent, dignified representative than in any similar strike. These facts count with the public. Whatever may be the outcome of the present coal strike, the dignity, fairness and good conduct of the miners, and the character of their leaders, has done much to strengthen the position of the labor unions.

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**As to Tariff Revision**

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I notice you seem intensely opposed to any revision or agitation of the tariff whatever; yet it must be admitted that the tariff is not perfect, and as time goes on various schedules will become more and more inexcusable. Is it never to be touched for fear of possible disturbance, and if it is, under what conditions? It must not be touched in times of great prosperity; it should not, of course, be touched in times of depression. In what way is it ever to be kept up to date, or revised in any manner? M. R. B.

Yes, we are opposed to a revision or agitation of tariff revision at present. Of course, the tariff law is not perfect. Neither is any other law. It would be difficult now to fix

a date when the tariff should be revised. Yet it would be an excellent thing if the tariff could be revised at stated periods, known a considerable time in advance. It is true that the most perfect tariff that could be adopted would grow out of joint with progress. But there are some conditions under which the tariff should not be touched. Two conditions are necessary to make a revision of tariff justifiable: First, that a large number of the protected industries should have manifestly outgrown the need of it, or become injured by it; and, second, that the time of revision should be sufficiently ahead for all industries to be adjusted to the coming change. For these reasons, a revision of the tariff should be postponed as long as possible, and, what would be better still, the revision should be done not by a party scramble in congress but by a commission of experts, whose results should be submitted to the approval of congress. But the dangers to business prosperity from a political tariff revision now would be very much greater than any evil which can come from the operation of the tariff for many years to come.

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### Union and Non-Union Labor

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Mr. Hewitt says that the object of the labor union in the coal strike is to make it impossible for a non-union man to work in that industry.

Is it not a fact that the organized miners, as well as the organized laborers in all trades, will not tolerate the presence of non-union workers, but practically keep them out of employment by going on strike rather than work with them? If this is a fact, is it not quite as arbitrary, and even more heartless, than anything the trusts do to independent competitors?

J. M. H.

No, it is not a fact that organized laborers will not tolerate non-union workers. If it were, non-union workers would not get employment. There are probably four times as many non-union workers as union workers, and they get just as much work as the union laborers.

It is true that organized laborers sometimes refuse to work with union men, but this is really not more general



than the effort of employing producers to coerce into their combinations outside competitors. It is not more common than the efforts of producers to compel jobbers and small dealers to refuse to buy from competitors who will not join their combination or agreement. This practice is all wrong, but no worse and no better when done by laborers than when done by capitalists and business men.

It is a crude element in human nature, and often prevails among employers and business men and social organizations as well as among trade unions. And it is not to Mr. Hewitt's credit that he should hold it up as the peculiar sin of workingmen. Much that Mr. Hewitt has said on this coal strike indicates an intense, egotistical, narrow prejudice. The spirit of his public interview was not that of a broad statesman, but that of a narrow doctrinaire, who mistakes despotism for democracy.

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### Coal Strike and Public Ownership

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In view of the treatment accorded the public by the operators in the recent coal strike, I would like to ask: What refuge from public ownership can you suggest when the indications are that we are only in the initial stage of consolidation, while power unlimited breeds arrogance and oppression, the antithesis of democracy?

To assume to proscribe the metes and bounds, and to control by legislation what we do not own, is undemocratic and a never-ending controversy.

To be optimistic and expect public sentiment to correct social abuses without power to inflict punishment commensurate, is, indeed, charitable.

To be in awe of the chastising hand of threatened public ownership whenever the limit of forbearance is reached, is a condition which would lose its terror when long endured.

W. W. C.

The only refuge from public ownership is rational action under competition. If the railroads continue to ignore the right of the laborers to organize, ignore the interests of the public in the conduct of their business, monopolize the whole source of supply, and hold up the public as in the case of coal, there is no refuge from one of two results—

either the disintegration of great concerns or government control.

Either of these two outcomes would be a great calamity. It would be a set-back for all efficient production to have business disintegrate into small concerns; it would be no less, and perhaps a greater calamity to have government assume the ownership of productive industry, especially with the present state of jobbery in our politics. Yet it will only take a few more men with as little sense and as much offensive egotism as Mr. Baer exhibited to bring about this unfortunate result. The true way to escape either of these calamities is for employers to recognize the full rights of the laborers in all economic dealings. But dictatorship will not be tolerated, and those who insist upon using it are sure to suffer, if they do not perish, in the effort.

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### Proposed Meat Combination

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In your comment on the proposed meat trust you say that this is only the natural result of the proceedings against the meat packers by the attorney-general; but, under the law as it stands, what else can the government do but take action where it believes an illegal combination in restraint of trade to exist? Regardless of the views of public officials, they have no discretion but to enforce the law as they find it, and this law is particularly explicit. Moreover, would not a genuine combination of these packers in the form of a large corporation be the best and most economic outcome of the whole matter? The secret agreements under which they have been working have all the evils of the old "trust" combinations which have been broken up, but when they take on a responsible, genuine, corporate form, they are right in line of modern industrial progress. If the administration has forced this outcome by its recent action, it ought to have the credit of bringing about an economic result.

J. A. L.

The administration may have done a good thing in forcing this combination, but it was not the result it was aiming at. The criticism of the administration is that its action in this matter was a political rather than an economic move. It was playing to the galleries, of which there is now

altogether too much. Since this prosecution of the so-called beef trust was begun, it has been conclusively demonstrated by official investigation, both public and private, that the packing corporations were not in the least responsible for the high price of beef. It has been conclusively shown that the rise in the price of fresh meat was due to economic causes over which the so-called trust had no control; namely, the cost of procuring fat cattle. Within a few days it has been announced through the daily press that, because of the increase of fat, grass-fed cattle and the prospective fall in the price of corn through the immense corn crop, beef in Kansas City has fallen two and three cents a pound, and will fall still more if those conditions increase. This is not due to the attorney general's legal proceedings against the trust, but to the economic conditions which affect the cost of furnishing fresh beef.

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### Sunday Closing Law in New York

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In your September number you spoke of the good work being done by the Low administration in New York city. Is it not a well-known fact that the Low administration does not attempt to enforce the Sunday-closing law? Do you think it ought to enforce this law? If not, on what theory can it be excused? Respect for any and all laws demands that each law be honestly enforced so long as it is on the statute books. If it is a bad law, it can be repealed; but, so long as it is unrepealed, an administration which ignores it becomes itself a law-breaker.

G. P. S.

This is not a question that can be adequately answered by a word. The closing of saloons on Sunday in New York city is a question that, ethically and socially, belongs to New York city. The Low administration has recognized this fact, which is much broader than the mere statute. It is generally believed that the people of New York city are opposed to the tight closing of saloons on Sunday. There is probably no doubt but what the present



administration would have been defeated at the election had it stood for that proposition. It is probably true that it would be defeated now if it should insist upon the strict enforcement of this law, which is wholly out of touch with the spirit of the metropolis.

In view of this fact, the Low administration has treated the Sunday-closing very much like other laws, many of which are not very thoroughly enforced. It has reduced the Sunday liquor selling to at least orderly proportions. The flagrant, offensive flaunting of the open saloon before the public has ceased. So long as the state refuses to give the city the opportunity properly to express itself upon the subject and have a choice, this seems to be a very rational course to follow. It is far more important that the present administration and its kind should continue to govern the affairs of New York for many years to come than that it make a war upon Sunday opening with the almost certain result of again handing over the city government to Tammany.

It is the duty of the administration to give to the city of New York the best government possible under the laws. It is not its duty to be fanatical or defeat the real object and hopes of the reform movement by expending its whole energy upon a single questionable law. It is far more important to purify the government in general, elevating the tone and integrity of the administration, so as to increase public confidence in the new regime. By that means an honest police force may gradually be secured. It is evident it cannot suddenly. The health departments, and dock departments, and street departments, and city judiciary may be elevated to a wholesome plane, and so give New York a city government which at least has the virtue of integrity throughout its important departments. When this is once thoroughly secured, the possibility of more efficiently enforcing the Sunday law, and exercising a more wholesome influence upon the legislature for a rational law, will be secured. In the meantime, the present policy of the Low administration seems to be the only rational one.

### The Markle Company and Arbitration

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Enclosed you will find an article from the *New York Sun* of Sunday, the 7th of September. I would ask if this statement is correct. If so, is not the firm of G. B. Markle & Co. justified in refusing to arbitrate with their miners as long as John Mitchell is in control?

A WORKMAN.

The article referred to by our correspondent is a highly flavored partisan article, as is much that appears in the *New York Sun* on that subject. That paper has recently had an experience with the typographical union, in which the *Sun* did not win, and ever since it has been intolerably unfair in its treatment of everything that pertains to labor organizations.

In the matter of Markle & Co., however, there is no doubt that firm has a grievance. The miners in that colliery should not have struck in 1900, no matter what the others did. Whether the agreements made between the unions and employers are good or bad, the unions must live up to their contracts. If they do not, they cannot and ought not to succeed.

In this case, however, it must be admitted that the Markle miners were somewhat swept off their feet by the cyclone, as it were, of the general strike in the whole anthracite coal field. This does not justify them in breaking their contracts, yet this should hardly be made a mortal sin never to be overlooked. According to the Markles' own testimony, the agreement not to strike, but to submit all differences to arbitration, had worked admirably for fifteen years. Now, if this be true, it is quite worth while to try again, even though the men did fail under the extraordinary circumstances of 1900. The Markles can find no other scheme that will work half so well. This policy has paid them well during the fifteen years it was in vogue. The wiser and more economic thing for Markle & Co. now to do is to re-establish that regime, and it is more than probable that the friendly tie between the firm and the men would be much stronger than ever before. But if they should make this

failure of the men an excuse to adopt a haughty, persecuting policy, they will be simply going backwards, and will probably find that during the next fifteen years their relations with the men will be neither as peaceful, satisfactory nor as profitable as in the last fifteen.

In this case, the men were clearly in the wrong; but that is one of the weaknesses of the present condition of labor unions which has to be remedied, and if the Markles would resume their old relations they would do much to remedy this very defect in the future. Of course this requires a little higher standard than a mere "eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth," yet it is altogether the more effective policy. Moreover, it is not too much to expect a little higher standard of honorable dealing with employers, who have had all the opportunities that education, wealth and culture can give, than from the miners, who are largely emigrants from the poorest conditions of Europe, and whose lives here have been chiefly influenced by the rude manners and altogether vulgarizing environments of mining camps.



## BOOK REVIEWS

INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION. Report of the Proceedings of the Conference held under the Auspices of the National Civic Federation, in New York, December 16th and 17th, 1901. Cloth, 278 pages. \$1.25. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

This book contains the addresses delivered before the first industrial conference of this kind ever held. There are some respects in which this conference was a very significant event. On no other similar occasion have the representatives of the great unions and the greatest corporations in existence met and exchanged views in so open, frank, and, withal, cordial and harmonious a manner. Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Gompers and others equally prominent in the ranks of organized labor, and Senator Hanna, Charles M. Schwab, president of the United States Steel Corporation, and presidents and representatives of other large concerns, were present and discussed the questions of industrial disturbances, labor organization and the desirability of conciliation with a frankness and friendliness never before experienced.

As the result of this conference, a board of conciliation was established, whose duty it should be to carry out, as far as practicable, the spirit so thoroughly expressed on all sides at this conference. The civic federation has done excellent work on one or two occasions, conspicuously the steel strike; but it utterly failed to exercise any influence in the anthracite coal strike, which is still on, and, from all appearances, may continue until New Year's. The importance of this conference, therefore, is not measured by what it has accomplished in the way of counseling harmony and adjusting industrial disturbances, but rather in the fact that it was a formidable first step in establishing wholesome recognition and harmonious relations between organized labor and organized capital. When this condition is once established, so that the authority and standing of each is fully recognized by the other, an ad-

justment of the actual difficulties will be easy. In the last analysis there is never very much trouble in adjusting a difficulty; the real difficulty is in getting together; getting the leaders of each party to dismount their high horses and stand on a common level as equals in an economic transaction.

The present coal strike, the end and consequence of which is not in sight, is really a contest for position and recognition. If there had been, at the start, the same frank spirit which was present throughout the industrial conference, the strike would not have lasted a week. The demands made by the laborers could have been met, frankly discussed, modified where unreasonable, and the whole thing settled, as ultimately it will have to be, in a single sitting. But Mr. Baer, representing the mine-owning railroads, acted on the assumption that "the rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God, in His infinite wisdom, has given the control of the property interests of the country";—in other words, that he and God were the only parties to decide what the wages, hours and other conditions of the miners should be. The result has been a protracted strike of about four months, in which the supply of anthracite coal has been entirely cut off, capital lying idle, and the public afflicted with the nuisance of using soft coal and having to pay more than double the former price for fuel. The miners, on the other hand, are going through a period of personal privation, which they are apparently willing to endure for months to come. And all for what? Because one side refuses to recognize the other as its equal in making a bargain.

This is a performance which is so discreditable to the spirit of ordinary man-to-man fairness, to say nothing of Christianity, that it cannot endure. It must come to an end, and it must come to an end by the employers yielding to the other side's right of recognition. It cannot terminate by exterminating the other side and leaving it all to Baer and his "divine" authority; that would be go-

ing backward towards barbarism. The disruption of society and the human race will take place before that can be accomplished on any considerable scale. The termination, therefore, of this kind of conflict must come, sooner or later, in the line represented by this industrial conference, which did such immortal credit to the great captains of industry and leaders of labor organizations who participated in it.

The present book, published by the civic federation, is valuable as containing the utterances at this conference. Some of the addresses are able discussions of the various methods of accomplishing peaceful adjustment of labor differences. The address of Senator Hanna was a key to the character of the conference. Among other things, he said:

"This is not the time nor place, perhaps, to discuss particulars. I simply want to improve the opportunity to give expression to that thought, that it is my all-absorbing interest and firm determination as a worker in the field to join with all those, the laborer and the employer, to bring about a condition of things which will accomplish more in the direction of good government, good social relations, and good morals than any one subject which the public mind can take hold of. . . . I would rather have the credit of making successful the movement to bring labor and capital into closer relations of confidence and reliance than to be president of the United States. If by resigning my seat in the United States senate I could bring to fruition the plans that we are fostering to make strikes, lockouts, and great labor disputes impossible, I would gladly do so. I think it is the grandest thing that could be accomplished in this country. I would want no greater monument than to have the world remember that I did something to end wars between American labor and American capital."

Altogether, this book probably contains more that is valuable and really worth reading on this subject than any other one volume. These addresses should be read and studied by all employers and all responsible leaders of trade unions, who wish really to put themselves in a rational relation to one of the greatest problems of modern times—the peaceful and economic adjustment of labor differences.



THE LEVEL OF SOCIAL MOTION. By Michael A. Lane. Cloth, 577 pages. \$2.00. The Macmillan Company, New York and London.

To speak moderately, this is an ambitious book. The author tells us that his "purpose has been to discover a law of social motion which shall harmonize the bewildering facts of human history; account for the apparently inconceivable contradictions between human aspirations and human injustice; and foreshadow the future of human society in its moral, intellectual and economic forms." This is surely a task of no mean order. How far he has accomplished this purpose, the reader must judge.

The theory the author attempts to establish in solving this problem is that the tendency of the human race is towards equality; equality of size, equality of intellect, rights and capacity. The tendency is for women to become intellectually and physically the equals of men; and so on. Equality and economic conditions will tend to produce stability in the number of population. The rich will cease to become richer, and the poor will disappear till all become equally well off.

This is somewhat in line with the theory of a philosopher in California, who is now elaborating a work which will aim to show, not by fanciful forecast, but by induction, on the principles laid down and facts discovered by Darwin, that society is tending persistently towards a social state in which individual selfishness will disappear. Altruism will be so supreme that fortunes will no longer be desired, money will be unnecessary, wealth will become so plentiful that all can help themselves to enough, and, by the new methods of production, an abundance will be supplied by three or four hours labor a day. This labor will be so attractive as to be preferable to idleness; and so work, instead of being an irksome task, performed for money, will become an attractive diversion, done for its own sake and the health of the worker.

Thus, competition, rent, interest, wages and private property will disappear, and the very attractiveness of labor will induce all to do their share, and the chief effort

of everybody will be to see that others have enough. When that time arrives, and it is to come by no miracle but by the ordinary process of evolution, peace and goodwill shall prevail among men, disease and its concomitant evils disappear from society, selfishness and injustice will then be unknown, life will become a perpetual joy, and heaven entirely unnecessary.

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#### NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

*The Expedition of Lewis and Clark.* Edited by Dr. James K. Hosmer. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

*The Physical Geography of New York State.* By Rudolph S. Torr. The Macmillan Company, New York.

*The Teaching of History and Civics in the Elementary and the Secondary School.* By Henry E. Bourne, B.A., B.D. 385 pp. \$1.50. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

*A History of English Utilitarianism.* By Ernest Albee, Ph.D., Instructor in the Sage School of Philosophy, Cornell University. Cloth, 427 pp. \$2.75. The Macmillan Co., New York.

*The Growth and Decline of the French Monarchy.* By James MacKinnon, Ph.D., Examiner in History in the University of Edinburgh. 840 pp. \$7.50 net. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

*The Plain Facts as to the Trusts and the Tariff.* With Chapter on the Railroad Problems and Municipal Monopolies. By George L. Bolen. 451 pp. Cloth. \$1.50, net. The Macmillan Co., New York.

*History of Intellectual Development: On the Lines of Modern Evolution.* By John Beattie Crozier, LL.D. Vol. I. Second edition, revised and with new introduction. 8vo. \$4.50. Longmans, Green and Co., New York.

*The Real Siberia.* Together with an Account of a Dash through Manchuria. By John Foster Fraser, author of "Round the World on a Wheel," etc. 12mo. Cloth. Illustrated. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

*English Thought in the Eighteenth Century.* By Leslie

Stephen, author of "Hours in a Library," etc. Third revised edition, with new material and new introduction. 2 vols., large octavo, pp. 466, 469. Net, \$8.00. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

*Industrial Conciliation.* Report of the Proceedings of the Conference held under the Auspices of the National Civic Federation, at the rooms of the Board of Trade and Transportation in New York, December 16th and 17th, 1901. Cloth, 278 pp. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

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That unique little group of publications, "The Four Track Series," issued by Mr. George H. Daniels, general passenger agent of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad, have an educational interest quite apart from their advertising utility. The last two issued are quite of this order: one, an illustrated descriptive folder on Bronx Park, including the zoological park and botanical gardens, and the other on "Historical Pilgrimages about New York."

The Bronx zoological park is the largest in the world, and is interestingly described in this little folder with considerable detail, as is also the botanical garden, which covers in the total some 250 acres. In both cases, the objects of principal interest are pointed out, and the way to reach them indicated. In the "Historical Pilgrimages" pamphlet, points of historic interest in and about a considerable number of communities to the north of New York are briefly described, with a little account of the important events associated with them.

Of course, all this is accompanied by information showing train service to the various points described; but this seems to be one of many cases where self-interest and public interest are combined. If these interesting points are within easy access of New York residents, especially the history and science classes in the schools, and of the thousands of visitors to the metropolis, by good and convenient train service, all the better; and, if the public is kept informed of the fact through attractive guides like these folders, all the better still.



## CURRENT COMMENT

### **The President and the Trusts**

"Some governmental sovereign must be given full power over these artificial, and very powerful corporate beings. In my judgment, this sovereign must be the national government. . . . The first exercise of that power should be the securing of publicity among all great corporations doing an interstate business. The publicity, though non-inquisitorial, should be real and thorough as to all important facts with which the public are concerned. . . . When publicity was attained, it would then be possible to see what further should be done in the way of regulation."—President Roosevelt, at Providence, R. I., Aug. 23.

"I firmly believe that in the end power must be given, probably through a constitutional amendment, to the national government to exercise in full supervision and regulation to those great enterprises. . . .

"Some of my ultra-conservative friends have professed to be greatly shocked at my advocating governmental control of corporations. I would explain to these gentlemen once for all that they err whenever they think that I advocate on the stump anything I will not try to put into effect after election."—President Roosevelt, at Wheeling, W. Va., Sept. 6.

"Reasonable publicity in the affairs of large corporations will check stock watering and protect the community from many of the evils of combinations. National legislation may very properly prevent the fictitious capitalization of corporations. Where an actual national monopoly is established, national supervision is called for. . . . All legislation looking toward the extension of government ownership must be resisted. Government supervision is safer and more efficient than governmental ownership and management. These measures are practicable, they are sufficient, and they are safe. For their attainment public sentiment should be united and persistent."—*New York Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin*.

"If the situation demands a revision of the constitution in certain essentials, then the day of relief will be indefinitely postponed, for while the democrats lustily shout that they are opposed to trusts, they will do all in their power to prevent any interference with the right of the states to perpetuate them."—*San Francisco Chronicle*.

"By means of that constitutional power there can be enacted, through all time to come, any legislation affecting the business of the country which may commend itself to the successive congresses, republican, democratic, or socialistic in majority, as the case may be. . . . In the power of definition of 'trusts, monopolies and combinations' is inseparably involved not only the power to regulate and control, but also to prohibit and dissolve any form of business enterprise, any business partnership whatsoever, which the congress may choose to regard as a trust, monopoly, or combination; in short, the absolute power of life or death over all the industries of all the states."—*New York Sun*.

"Mr. Roosevelt has only one object in life at the present time—and that is to be renominated and reëlected president. He knows very well that no man can secure the republican nomination over the opposition of the trusts, and what he says about curbing their power is intended for campaign purposes only. The trusts understand this perfectly."—*Indianapolis Sentinel*.

[*What England evidently hopes.*] "May it not, therefore, happen that the result of the movement which Mr. Roosevelt has inaugurated will be to convince him and his fellow-countrymen that in the reduction of the tariff rather than in special legislation lies the best remedy for most of the abuses which they feel or apprehend?"—*The Economist*,  
London, Eng.

"If general concerted action is desirable, and this action cannot be taken by the federal government, . . . one method readily suggests itself, that of a conference of the representatives of the various states. . . . for the pur-

pose of agreeing upon certain broad general principles for the regulation of corporations.

"It would not be necessary in a movement of this kind to have unanimous consent. Suppose that twelve or fifteen of the leading states of the union were to agree upon a common basis of corporation laws—that is, what it was permissible for a corporation to do and what was not permissible—and in what way state action should be employed. If the governments of these various states were to adopt concurrent statutes of this kind, and were to make it a provision that all companies which did not carry on their affairs in harmony with these should, after a specified time, be prohibited from doing business in the states in question, we have not the least doubt that the great corporations would bring their affairs into conformity with these requirements, and that the other states of the union would find it necessary to frame their corporate laws in substantial conformity with those which their larger or more important sisters had adopted." —*Boston Herald*.

#### **The Coal Strike at White Heat**

"It is notorious that the real object is to secure the recognition of his [Mr. Mitchell's] national organization as an authority entitled to decide upon the rates of wages and the conditions of labor in the coal fields wherever situated. If this demand be conceded, it will not be possible for any man not holding a union card to secure employment in the coal fields.

"This will amount to a denial of the right of every man to sell his labor in a free market. The concession of this demand will make Mr. Mitchell the dictator of the coal business and put him in control of votes enough to decide the next presidential election."—From Abram S. Hewitt's public statement.

"In the days of the individual employer, when one man's dislike was not sufficient to blacklist and bar out from work the mechanic who had incurred his displeasure, the doctrine advocated by Mr. Hewitt had some ground to stand upon, but it is obsolete in our time when the hostility of a single



concern under the domination of the confederated trust is sufficient to make the worthiest mechanic in the land a veritable Ishmaelite and deny him the opportunity to earn his daily bread in a land of plenty and prosperity."—*Scranton*

*Truth.*

"The coal operators . . . cannot mine coal because the miners make demands which render it impossible to mine coal profitably, and . . . the state has enacted laws prohibiting the employment of men in the mines unless they have worked two years in the anthracite mines, and, therefore, they cannot for the time being mine coal. How, then, under these circumstances, can there be any violation of public duty? If we yield to the extravagant demands of the miners we will lose money. If we attempt to increase the price of coal we will destroy the industries depending upon anthracite fuel. If we increase the price on the domestic sizes we will be called robber barons, oppressors of the poor, monopolists and enemies of mankind. . . . We are not fighting labor organizations. . . . We are fighting the battle of freedom for the individual and his right to labor on his own terms."—From statement by President Baer of the Philadelphia & Reading R. R., in reply to Senators Quay and Penrose.

"High words these, but the way this battle of freedom is being fought is to crush the union so that the miners can make no organized opposition to lowering wages or to introducing the cheapest labor that can be brought from Europe. The aim of the operators is not to exalt labor, but to degrade it. The labor for which they are fighting is not American labor, but the pauper labor of Europe, and, if the law allowed them to do it, doubtless they would make the fight for Chinese labor. They want free trade in labor while they are opposed to free trade in coal. For the words 'his right to labor on his own terms,' in Mr. Baer's statement, should be substituted 'our right to compel him to labor on our terms.' That is the practical sense of it, which Mr. Mitchell sets forth clearly."—*Boston Herald.*

"Highly organized and centralized capital denies to

labor the right also to organize, that it may meet capital on something like an equality. That the right of labor to organize should be so denied is astonishing. And the practical effects of such denial have been most deplorable. . . .

"The operators insist that they cannot trust the union at all. Why not try? The bituminous mine owners have tried, and have found that their trust in the honor of the miners was not in vain. They saw that trust justified when the union voted to keep its agreements and not strike in their mines. Why should not the anthracite operators give the miners the same trial?"—*Chicago Inter-Ocean*.

"If it [the strike] do not result in better relations between the capital and labor that anthracite coal mining represents, it will result in questioning the whole relation of the monopoly of necessities of life to society, and possibly be the beginning of reënforcement of a tendency to readjust those relations. Whatever may come to pass as to this, it is beyond question that there is born into our society a new belief as to the rightful relation of capital and labor; that there should be mutuality of duties and privileges."

—*Indianapolis News*.

**Infinite Wisdom  
in Coal Mine  
Management**

"The rights and interest of the laboring man will be protected and cared for—not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of the country, and upon the successful management of which so much depends. Do not be discouraged. Pray earnestly that right may triumph, always remembering that the Lord God omnipotent still reigns, and that his reign is one of law and order, and not of violence and crime."—From letter of President Baer to W. F.

Clark, of Wilkesbarre.

"Few have reached the point of considering the so-called 'coal barons' as shining examples of God's perfect work, in which His loving designs for the welfare of the whole human race were made manifest. It seems, how-

ever, that is the true doctrine which all religious men should hold. . . .

"It will take a load from the consciences of many earnest people to have this authorized declaration that God, through the kindness of the coal operators, will be able to manage this strike in accordance with the dictates of infinite wisdom. There have been some persons who believe in law and order, and have no sympathy with riotous strikers or demagogic agitators, who have not hitherto been able to detect infinite wisdom sitting at any of the coal presidents' desks, but doubtless they were mistaken." —*New York Tribune*.

"The more that missive is considered the worse it appears. If there is a difference in the natural endowment of men by which Baer has profited, he has certainly proved now that one may be a railroad president and be mentally and spiritually obtuse at the same time. He has shown neither the acuteness nor the common sense of Mitchell, whose position was strong at the beginning of the strike, and is growing continually stronger."

—*Chicago Record-Herald*.

"When operators appear, as they do, organized in a great combination or corporations to regulate output and prices, their hostility to an equally comprehensive union of employees is as unfair and arrogant as their assumption of superiority to any public obligation in the conduct of their business.

"This, and their refusal to arbitrate, leaves their position absolutely defenseless, and this is recognized by the spokesman of the operators when, feeling obliged to say something, he lays claim to the approval of God for all that capital is doing or not doing in this case and in other cases of the kind." —*Springfield Republican*.

"We ought to be glad and joyous, we ought to be filled with glee

"That aeons ago the placard was nailed to the ancient tree,  
"That millions and millions of ages—back farther than  
Adam and Eve—



"The ichthyosaurus halted, and speedily took his leave,  
 "And so it was all saved for us, the spot with the sign:  
     'Beware!  
 " 'This plant is run by the earth and sun, and is making coal  
     for Baer! "

—W. D. Nesbit, in *Baltimore American*.

Mr. Hewitt's certainly worked  
 Glaring up the excitement  
 Error of the men to a  
 certain degree. That was his  
 first mistake. Mr. Mitchell  
 advised against the strike.  
 When he called the conven-  
 tion at Shamokin he thought  
 he would be able to control  
 it and show what a big fel-  
 low he was. But these  
 young fellows came in and  
 wanted the strike, and the  
 convention got beyond  
 Mitchell's control. Then he  
 called the Indianapolis con-  
 vention. *He told the anthra-  
 cite miners that he would ask  
 the bituminous miners to go on  
 a sympathetic strike. He did  
 so and they refused.* This was  
 another of Mr. Mitchell's  
 mistakes. Mr. Mitchell in  
 public clamors for arbitra-  
 tion. But does he want ar-  
 bitration? . . . It was  
 Mr. Mitchell who destroyed  
 the principle of arbitration  
 in the coal fields." —Abram S.  
 Hewitt, interview in *New York  
 Tribune* of Sept. 12th.

"It has been the proud  
 boast of the United Mine  
 Workers of America that  
 during the last several  
 years, or since our organiza-  
 tion became a power in the  
 labor world, contracts based  
 solely upon the honor and  
 good faith of our union have  
 under the most trying cir-  
 cumstances been kept invio-  
 late, and in this supreme  
 crisis a failure to live up to  
 the high standard that has  
 made our union pre-eminent  
 among organizations of la-  
 bor would prove a substan-  
 tiation of all the charges and  
 allegations made against us  
 by our enemies, and would  
 confirm beyond the possi-  
 bility of refutation the spe-  
 cious argument of the an-  
 thracite coal operators that  
 the United Mine Workers  
 of America is an irresponsi-  
 ble and unsafe body with  
 which to deal." —From speech  
 of President Mitchell at Indian-  
 apolis, which carried the conven-  
 tion against a sympathetic strike  
 of the bituminous miners.

Apropos of  
Labor Day

"The progress of labor during the past year may be ascribed in part to favorable industrial conditions. But it is also true that increased efficiency and more conservatism in management on the part of trades unions generally have been an important factor in the progress made. Speaking generally, there has been extended recognition of the right to organize, and there have been substantial increases of wages in many lines. Wages have not advanced as rapidly in all cases as has the cost of living, but it is usually true that in times of prosperity and rising prices wages rise more slowly than the prices of commodities. While wages advance slowly, however, it is also true that it is difficult to lower wages again in the face of organization on the part of labor when prices and the cost of living begin to recede. The progress of labor consists in advancing as much as possible during eras of prosperity and in surrendering in periods of adversity as little as possible of what has been gained."—*Chicago News*.

"The labor organization is the means, and at present the only means, through which the wage-earner enforces his rights, and during the past twenty-five years this organization has done more to advance the interests of those who toil than all other means combined. It has lessened the hours of toil, raised wages, secured the prohibition of child labor, improved the condition of mines and factories, and lent its influence to great social, economic and political reforms.

"It is not sufficient to say that labor organizations make mistakes—all people and all organizations make mistakes. 'To err is human,' but those who insist upon living wages and reasonable hours are not as likely to err as those who are endeavoring to collect dividends upon watered stock.

"The labor organization has been of service to those outside of its ranks as well as to those within, for the former get the benefit of the rate of wages fixed and the

hours prescribed by the organization. It deserves encouragement." —W. J. Bryan, in *The Commoner*.

"It was estimated by labor experts during the period of industrial depression that the army of unemployed numbered three millions. To-day no one is idle who is willing to work. . . . Nominally, wages may not average 25 per cent. more than they were five years ago, although most kinds of skilled labor command 50 per cent. more, and extensive reduction in hours has given more time for recreation. In this respect alone progress has been wonderful, especially in contrast with conditions in Great Britain, where, according to an official report just issued, the average working time has decreased only ten minutes in nine years. Another comparison has been made in which it appears that the advertisements for work outnumbered those seeking workers by more than two to one at the earlier date, whereas at the present time there are more positions than applicants. These are some of the things that indicate the condition of the wage-earner, and warrant quite as much consideration as sensational reports of exorbitant prices."—*New York Tribune*.

"I make a most conservative estimate when I say that the papers of the country are to-day advertising 500,000 situations that want help. . . . The cry for help in the Pacific states is most urgent, while it is hardly less urgent in the middle west and lake states. From \$2 to \$3 and \$4 a day is offered for common laborers, such as brickmen, teamsters, miners and railroad hands. There is one loud and urgent demand from every part of the United States for labor of every description."—Francis Curtis, in *American Economist*, in comment on "Help Wanted" statistics; one table showing a total of 12,946 "Help Wanted" advertisements, and only 5,559 "Situations Wanted," in 40 leading dailies, on Sunday, Aug. 24.

Tom L. Johnson  
in Ohio Politics

"Mr. Johnson was not an advocate of free coinage at 16 to 1, but the Chicago platform had no more earnest supporter, because he recognized that the silver question was only one phase of



the unending struggle between greed and human rights. Mr. Johnson has not studied the money question as thoroughly as he has studied some other economic questions, but he is so devoted to the interests of the people that he can be depended upon to stand with them in the settlement of every controversy. He recognizes that the money question is not dead, and he says it cannot die so long as Wall street interests dictate our financial policy, and that Wall street will dictate unless the people are constantly on their guard is only too evident."—W. J. Bryan, in *The Commoner*.

"We are inclined to estimate Mr. Johnson as an honest and a sincere man. He is preferable to the average politician of both parties in Ohio in this respect—ininitely preferable to John R. McLean, who thoroughly debauched the democratic party while he was influential in it. But, aside from this, Mr. Johnson appears to be still to a considerable extent among the votaries of Bryanism. His tendency is to hold the democrats to an allegiance from which it is essential they shall be relieved if they are to have hope of success in the future. . . . If he continues his connection with Bryanism, it must tend to keep this party from the only chance of success that is open to it as American politics is now constituted."—*Boston Herald*.

"When the Tom Johnson circus starts out, that gentleman should not fail to explain to his farmer auditors at his rural stops the beauties of the Henry George single tax. In the campaign of 1896 he was not enthused over the 16 to 1 idea, so he devoted his energies to championing that theory. He urged that land should bear all the burdens of taxation, and that no other kind of property should pay a cent. . . .

"The underlying theory is that the owner of land is a robber of the whole community—that the land is the property of the whole people, and that the way to straighten matters out is to put so heavy a tax on land values that the tax will equal the rental value of the land, thus making it unprofitable to own it. . . .

"This doctrine would make it exceedingly interesting to the men who own the farms of Ohio, if it were carried out in practice. They would certainly enjoy the privilege of paying all the expenses of the government. . . .

"In his Lorain speech, in reply to a question, Tom Johnson declined to discuss the single tax, but said everything his party is working for in this campaign is in the direction of the single tax. Compare this utterance with the declaration in their platform that 'the farmer and the small property owner have been burdened with excessive taxes.' Yet the single tax would put the entire burden upon land, and leave all other wealth free of taxation. . . .

"Let the farmers of Ohio make no mistake as to the purpose of Tom Johnson." —*Toledo Blade*.

**Withdrawal of  
Speaker Hen-  
derson**

'You cannot kill the trusts by applying free trade without killing our own industries. The foreign trusts are fighting the American trusts, and I don't believe that for the purpose of controlling American trusts we should make a market for foreign trusts, thereby crushing out the industries of this country. After my conference last Saturday at Waterloo, hearing the views of the chairmen of my district, I concluded that my views on the tariff question were at variance with those of many of my party, and I did not desire to appear in a false position.' —From statement by Speaker Henderson, in comment on his letter declining renomination for congress.

"The effect of it upon the republican politicians of the country will be astounding. It may not be safe to assert off-hand that it means the republican party is not to control the house of representatives in the fifty-eighth congress, but it will surely tend to produce that result. . . . We are compelled to infer that Mr. Henderson not only disapproves the proposition to apply the tariff excision knife to the trusts, as he says, but that he has grave doubts of his ability to be re-elected if he remains in the field as a candidate. The news of such a weakening of the republican line in so 'rock-ribbed' a republican state as Iowa

cannot but be seriously injurious to the party in all parts of the country."—*Hartford Times*.

"The republican party has for forty years revised republican tariffs, steadily adding to the free list, carefully reducing duties as they become unnecessary—the iron and steel duties being a case in point—and at all times treating tariff schedules as a business proposition, to be decided by the condition of business, price, production, consumption and manufacture. To a revision by the enemies of the tariff the republican party has always been opposed. To a revision by its friends, at the right moment and in the right way, it has always been in favor."—*Philadelphia Press*.

"Mr. Henderson is right, without doubt, in saying that 'you can not kill trusts by applying free trade without killing our own industries.' Take a case in point. The most of the tin mills in the United States are in a combination. . . . Suppose the plan of throwing off the duty on foreign-made goods that compete with American trust-made goods were enacted into law, and was applied to the tin-plate trust. It would first hit, not the trust, but their workmen. With foreign tin made by foreign workmen, whose wage-rate is much lower than that paid in the United States, admitted free of duty, the mills here could not compete, unless the workmen would accept a reduction of wages to the European level. The plan would be a blow at the prosperity of the American workingman, not at the trusts."—*Toledo Blade*.

#### **The Maine Election**

"The results of the Maine election are not of momentous significance, but, so far as they have other than a local meaning, they are encouraging and satisfactory to the republicans. For the most part, state and county issues were made prominent in the campaign, and a few democratic sheriffs were elected in the expectation that, under their rule, the prohibitory law would be a dead letter. . . . This plurality is considerably larger than was expected, and larger than a reason-



able and satisfactory republican victory need be. Evidently, there is no reaction against the republican administration, and, wherever national questions played any part in the contest, the voters were firm in their support of the party in power." —*New York Tribune*.

"The chief significance of the Maine election is local in the revelations it affords of dissatisfaction among the people, both with the prohibition law and its enforcement. . . . The prohibition law of Maine is a ready instrument in the hands of a local boss for safeguarding his political friends and for punishing his political enemies. A sheriff who is unscrupulous enough can generally find some way of directing raids away from a hotel which is or can be made his political headquarters. Where the prohibition law is not a farce, it is oppression. Plainly, a very considerable element of the people of Maine are turning over in their minds the question whether it is consistent with the state's good faith to keep on the statute books a law which, in practice, the community repudiates." —*Boston Transcript*.

"The wonderful thing in the great game of **The Naval "Attack on New York"** war now being played off the entrance to Long Island sound is the manner in which ships that have been blown up by mines or destroyed by cannon come to life and continue the attack the next day as if nothing had happened. Nor is it possible to see how the game is fairly played if ships once destroyed are allowed to take part in further engagements. There is no likeness to real war in that. . . .

"In spite of this there is no real question of the utility of the manoeuvres which are being carried on with so much noise and energy and have so much solemn make-believe. They have much the same relation to actual attack and defence as target practice at sea to real fighting, and it is well understood that the vast advantage of that practice was sufficiently demonstrated when the Spanish war came."

—*Hartford Times*.

"It is probable that the military and naval manoeuvres

which have been recently conducted on the New England coast will result in one thing beneficial to the country, if nothing else—the instruction of the people, especially of members of congress, as to the need of an efficient army and navy at all times. . . . It has been said by those in authority at Washington that the ships now in course of construction will equal in fighting efficiency all the rest of the navy. It has been asserted, too, that, notwithstanding the number of vessels in commission, the navy is deficient in powerful fighting vessels, and that it behooves the government to push its construction of battleships and armored cruisers until there is a respectable number of each.”

—*New York Tribune.*

“The great war game is over at last. Notwithstanding smokeless powder was employed, we cannot refrain from remarking that not until the smoke of battle has cleared away shall we be able to determine which side won and which lost. We are yet too near the scene of conflict to write of it in a calm, unbiased manner, entirely devoid of bitterness. It may be years before its true history is written. In the meantime, we shall have to be content with these anticipatory lines from Southey:

“‘But what good came of it at last?’

“ Quoth little Peterkin.

“‘Why, that I cannot tell,’ said he;

“‘But ’twas a famous victory.’” —*Boston Herald.*

**Significance of  
Devery's Victory  
in New York**

‘He has won in doing this because, under existing city conditions, great masses of men and women are brought together who need and must have what men like Devery offer and give. Food, shelter and clothing the families in these swarming hives get. They get nothing more. More must be furnished, and, if it does not come by the normal working of the social machine, it will be furnished by its abnormal and criminal working. The cure for the Deverys is not merely

education, but a city in which the city itself, as a whole, is furnishing better than he has to give.

"Into the dull, contracted life of a crowded city population, into which Devery comes with his largess, excitement and amusement, there should come amusements at the public expense which will do what he does better than he does it. The city of the future will give such a population gymnasiums, athletic fields, playgrounds, rooms for clubs, co-operative provision for various needs, aid and information in procuring employment, and the safeguard of justice and an honest competition in seeking places in public and semi-public work, which will substitute merit for 'pull.'

"Until the intelligent, wealthy and directing classes furnish these things, at the public expense honestly, the Deverys will win their political fights by purchasing them at the public expense dishonestly."—*Philadelphia Press*.

"It is one of the admirable features of the present primary law that the voters of a district can put their leader into the councils of the organization regardless of the will of outside bosses, who might like to suppress him for purposes of their own. It may be inconvenient for those who wish to picture Tammany as a respectable organization, which desires reform and good leadership under a Shepard, and has suffered unjustly for the acts of a few unfaithful officeholders, to have it thus shown that the rank and file of the party do not want reform, but love corruption, and would rather be led by a Devery than by a Shepard. But it is the truth, and political salvation comes by the truth."

—*New York Tribune*.

#### **The Decline in Exports**

"It looks like blind optimism to rejoice at favorable balances of trade and then to rejoice again at declining balances. The country was but now felicitating itself upon its acquisition of wealth in selling so much to Europe and buying so little thence. Now, there is equal joy because of our proved ability to buy and pay for increasing volumes of luxuries and be-



cause the enlarged domestic demand leaves less surplus for export. There is an explanation of this curious phenomenon, and one which takes away much of its apparent illogical character. We have been passing through an epoch when heavy sales and light purchases were desirable, because we were in the position of an embarrassed debtor trying to get out of the hole. Now that our paying capacity has been demonstrated, we are in shape again to take life easier, and invite loans on which to extend our business. The cosmic law of rhythm is at work in the commercial realm." —*Portland Oregonian*.

"President Search, of the American Manufacturers' Association, is very much concerned over the falling off in American exports of manufactured articles. . . . He urges, in effect, that in order to build up a foreign trade the manufacturers of the United States should ship products abroad when the supply is inadequate to meet the home demand, and sell them at less prices in other lands than in the country in which they are produced. . . . It may be justifiable, when there is overproduction, for manufacturers to seek to escape the consequences which follow the overstocking of the domestic market, by dumping their surpluses on foreigners; but to systematically engage in an attempt to maintain high prices at home in order to sell cheaply abroad would be an infamy which Americans would not long tolerate. . . .

"We repeat, it is wise for protectionists to discountenance the hankering after foreign trade which leads to such a suicidal procedure. Let us have foreign trade, but let it be of that kind which represents the disposal of a real surplus, not the sort which contemplates treating the foreigner better than the domestic consumer by coaxing the former to buy at a smaller price products which the latter eagerly demands at a greater price." —*San Francisco Chronicle*.

#### Agricultural Prosperity

"The farmer, so far as actual wealth is concerned, is the capitalist of the United States. The census bureau report on the value of farming property of the country, issued last week,

estimates that the 5,739,657 farms of the United States are worth \$16,674,690,247. Of this amount, \$3,560,198,191, or 21.4 per cent., represents the value of buildings, and \$13,114,492,056, or 87.6 per cent., the value of land and improvements. Farm implements and machinery are worth \$761,261,550, and live stock \$3,078,050,041, making the total farming wealth over 20,514 millions of dollars.

"This is, undoubtedly, a very low estimate, but, accepting it as correct, other forms of industry pale beside it in comparison. The value of the railway systems of the United States, approximating 200,000 miles, is about 11,800 million dollars, counting bonds and stock capitalization, or but little over half the farming wealth. . . .

"The railway systems of the United States, in 1900, reported gross earnings of \$1,501,695,378, or a little more than 12.6 per cent. on the total stock and bond capitalization. The gross farm income, in 1899, was \$3,764,177,706, and the percentage of gross income upon investment was 18.3 per cent. It will be seen that the farming industry made out better than the railways. . . .

"The total value of farm property in the United States, in 1900, was more than five times as great as in 1850, and 28.4 per cent. greater than in 1890. The railway industry was in its infancy in 1850, so that comparisons extending back 50 years are unfair, but, taking 1890 as a basis, it is found that railway property, as indicated by total capitalization, rose from 10,029 millions of dollars in that year to 11,892 millions in 1900. This is an increase of 18.5 per cent., or nearly 10 per cent. less than the increase in the value of farms." —New York *Financier*.

**Improving  
Standard  
of Living**

"In 1872, out of a given number of cases of workingmen's family budgets analyzed and used in making social deductions, it was found that a majority of the families depended upon support from members of the family other than its head. Of the one hundred and fifty-two families chosen at random and just investigated, the earnings of the father were suf-

ficient to meet the family expenditure. In 1872, from one-quarter to one-third of the family income came from child labor; now only eleven per cent., or a little less than one-eighth, of the family income is received from the labor of minor children. In 1872, children under fifteen supplied by their labor from one-eighth to one-sixth of the total family earnings. Now no children of this age contributing to the family income were discovered. In 1872, of the families visited, 55.92 per cent. were found to have an income exceeding expenditure; in 1902, 63.16 per cent. were so fortunate. The only alteration of conditions which implies retrogression is the increase of labor by wives in 1902."

—*Harper's Weekly* comment on Massachusetts Labor Bureau report on standard of living.

**President Palma and the Cuban Loan** "Third—Loan shall be used in the following manner: Four million nominal dollars for developing agriculture in general and the live-stock industry in manner determined by congress. Thirty-one million nominal dollars for meeting obligations contained in the first of transitory provisions of the constitution, it being understood that payment of wages of revolutionary army shall be in accordance with provisions or decrees of October 24, 1895, and September 14, 1896, of council of government of revolution, and after rectification of army rolls and their classification by congress." —Excerpt from new Cuban law authorizing \$35,000,000 loan at 5 per cent. minimum rate of issue 90 per cent., redeemable in 40 years.

"This action of congress in giving the president a vote of confidence and intrusting to him the complete charge of the big Cuban loan proves the assertion made by the president that harmony does exist, and that he has the support of his people. This action of congress effectually proves the absurdity of the rumor of the possible impeachment of the president, which was scattered broadcast through the United States by news agencies.

"The action of the congress in taking this step of showing its confidence in the executive has caused a very



good impression here. Notwithstanding the attacks of the radical press, the president undoubtedly holds the confidence of the people, and all are gratified at the action of their representatives in congress. The president, in his speech at the banquet, . . . said that too much must not be expected of the government in the first three months of its existence, and he showed that the financial condition of the country was growing slowly but constantly better."

—Havana correspondence in *New York Tribune*.

**The Haytian**

**Incident and**

**Monroe Doctrine**

"This country has never attempted to screen the misdeeds of its southern neighbors behind the Monroe doctrine, nor thus to protect them from the penalty of disorder, nor to give them immunity from the collection of just debts and proper indemnities. The Monroe doctrine is not a bankruptcy act for the benefit of delinquent debtors. It does not say that European rights in the Americas shall not be respected, or that infringement upon them shall not be resented and punished. It merely asserts that European powers shall not spoliolate the territories of American states nor oppress them, nor control their political destinies. . . . The Monroe doctrine is a charter of security in well doing. It is not a license for general devilry." —*New York Tribune*.

"It is unfortunate, if not exceptional, that the United States cannot be satisfied with the plain, straightforward policy of self-interest, without attempting to explain it as a disinterested and highly moral position. It was on this basis that the war with Spain was undertaken, resulting in the Philippines being annexed and Cuba being put under the heel. South America's natural resources are enormous, but the individual states cannot act together. It is plain that they will not long resist American extension southward, and American 'protection' from European aggression will soon incubate into occupation by the United States."

—*Saturday Review*, London, Eng.

"A dispatch from Washington reports that the United

States government is considering the advisability of annexing Hayti. . . . It appears that the people of the republic of that name not only help dictators to maintain a perpetual civil war, but also that they practice voodoo worship and eat one another upon high festive occasions. Therefore, we should make American citizens of them and add another race problem to the bunch we already have.

"Such might be the irreverent conclusion, but it is not contemplated by the mind that seriously reflects upon the police duties of world powers. . . . It is not shown that the West Indies, as a whole, are suffering, or that the American West Indies are affected at all, or that we have any right to intervene, or that there is any reason why we should not leave those undesirable people to stew in their own kettles."—*Chicago Record-Herald*.

**Joseph Chamberlain and the Boer Demands**

"At the recent conference of the Boer generals with Mr. Chamberlain, the gist of the demands of the former, according to a blue book just published, was an amplification of the concession made by the British on May 31, when the treaty of peace was signed. The Boers ask pensions for maimed burghers and all widows and orphans; equal rights for the Dutch and English tongues in schools and courts; the immediate release of all prisoners of war; equal rights of surrendered burghers, including the right to return to South Africa; the restoration to office of the civil officials of the late republics; compensation for all losses whatever inflicted by British troops; payment of the debts of the republics, including those contracted during the war; extension of time for payment of debts due from the burghers to the republics, and, finally, the abandonment of the decision to hand over part of the Transvaal to Natal. These points, if gained, would place King Edward's new subjects in South Africa on an equal footing, in all respects, regardless of the war, with the victors.

"Mr Chamberlain's reply . . . was, in the main,

a re-affirmation of the conditions accepted by the Boers at Vereeniging, and a refusal to reopen that settlement. He considered that settlement a liberal one, compared with any ever made in like circumstances. . . . On the whole, the interview, it appears, was a friendly one, and if the Boer generals did not get all they asked, or should have had, they obtained, perhaps, as much as they expected."

—*Baltimore Sun*, Sept. 11.

"We want in this country to forget and forgive, because if you think, as you well may, that you have something to forgive, we also think we have a great deal to forgive. But we want to put all that on one side. The war is over. We each fought as well as we knew how, and now there is peace. All we want is to recognize you as fellow subjects with ourselves, working, as we shall work, for the prosperity and liberty of South Africa. How great that liberty is, and how soon complete self-government will be extended to South Africa, depend entirely on the rapidity with which the old animosities die out."—Joseph Chamberlain, in reply to Boer generals in London.

"All will admit that Mr. Chamberlain was entirely justified when he said that the English had treated the Boers in the terms of peace provided, in a more considerate manner than the defeated southerners had been treated by the victorious northerners at the close of the civil war. . . . No doubt the Boer generals are justified in their belief that, both in Europe and in this country, considerable collections can be made to aid the burghers in the work of repairing and restocking their abandoned farms; but, if sympathetic outsiders shall do in this way anything approaching what the English government has done, it will be more than we now expect, and until the world at large permits its sympathy to take this practical form it will hardly do to censure the English for not doing more than by the terms of the peace treaty they have promised to do." —*Boston Herald*.



**Current Price  
Comparisons**

The following are the latest wholesale price quotations, showing comparison with previous dates:

	Sept. 20, 1901	Aug. 21, 1902	Sept. 20, 1902
Flour, Minn. patent (bbl. 196 lbs.)	\$3.70	\$3.90	\$3.85
Wheat, No. 2 red (bushel) . . . .	76½	77	75½
Corn, No. 2 mixed (bushel) . . . .	64½	65	71½
Oats, No. 2 mixed (bushel) . . . .	39½	35	31½
Pork, mess (bbl., 200 lbs.) . . . .	16.50	17.75	18.00
Beef, hams (bbl., 200 lbs.) . . . .	21.50	22.00	22.00
Coffee, Rio No. 7 (lb.) . . . . .	5½	5½	5½
Sugar, granulated (lb.) . . . . .	5 <sup>85</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	4 <sup>65</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	4 <sup>70</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
Butter, creamery, extra (lb.) . . .	21	19½	22½
Cheese, State f.c., small fancy (lb.)	9¼	9½	11
Cotton, middling upland (lb.) . . .	8½	9	9
Print cloths (yard) . . . . .	3	3	3
Petroleum, refined, in bbls. (gal.)	7½	7 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>10</sub>	7 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>10</sub>
Hides, native steers (lb.) . . . . .	12½	14½	14½
Leather, hemlock (lb.) . . . . .	24½	24½	24½
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry (ton 2000 lbs.) . . . . .	16.00	22.50	23.00
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry (ton 2000 lbs.) . . . . .	15.00	22.00	22.00
Tin, Straits (100 lbs.) . . . . .	25.15	28.30	26.40
Copper, Lake ingot (100 lbs.) . . .	16.50	11.50	11.75
Lead, domestic (100 lbs.) . . . . .	4.37½	4.12½	4.12½
Tinplate, 100 lbs., I. C., 14x20. .	—	4.35	4.35
Steel rails (ton 2000 lbs.) . . . .	—	28.00	28.00
Wire nails (Pittsburg), (keg 100 lbs.) . . . . .	—	2 05	2.05
Steers, prime, Chicago (100 lbs.)	—	8.00	8.07

*Dun's Review* shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities, averaged according to importance in per capita consumption, for September 1 and comparison with previous dates, as follows:

	Jan. 1, 1892	Sept. 1, 1898	Sept. 1, 1899	Sept. 1, 1900	Sept. 1, 1901	Aug. 1, 1902	Sept. 1, 1902
Breadstuffs. . .	\$17.700	\$11.791	\$12.431	\$13.917	\$17.369	\$19.983	\$17.579
Meats . . . . .	7.895	7.893	8.200	9.014	9.530	11.679	10.402
Dairy and garden	13.180	9.548	11.005	11.251	13.009	11.347	10.930
Other food . . .	9.185	8.879	9.165	9.650	9.153	8.821	8.811
Clothing . . . .	13.430	14.533	15.502	15.843	15.234	15.582	15.773
Metals. . . . .	14.665	11.697	17.413	14.870	16.091	16.239	16.655
Miscellaneous. .	13.767	12.467	14.435	16.169	16.525	16.526	16.532
Total . . . . .	\$89.822	\$76.808	\$88.151	\$90.714	\$96.911	\$100.177	\$96.682

English prices of staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*, are as follows:

	Sept. 6, 1901			Aug. 1, 1902			Sept. 5, 1902		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Steel rails (long ton, 2,240 lbs.) . .	5	10	0	5	10	0	5	10	0
Scotch pig iron (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	2	13	7½	2	16	1½	2	17	6
Copper ( " " )	67	10	0	53	2	6	52	10	0
Tin, Straits ( " " )	115	2	6	128	0	0	124	0	0
Lead, English pig ( " " )	12	6	3	11	6	3	11	5	0
Cotton, middling upland (lb.). . .	0	0	4½	0	0	4½	0	0	5½
Petroleum (gallon) . . . . .	0	0	5½	0	0	5½	0	0	5½

(American equivalents of English money: pound — \$4.866; shilling — 24.3 cents; penny — 2.03 cents.)

The average prices of sixty railway stocks, ten industrial, and five city traction and gas stocks are given by *Dun's Review*, as follows:

	Dec. 31, 1901	Sept. 19, 1902
Average, 60 railway . . . . .	102.99	115.44
" 10 industrial . . . . .	63.45	65.71
" 5 city traction, etc. . . . .	137.37	137.60

Prices of certain significant stocks on the New York stock exchange, showing range during the year, as given by *Bradstreet's*, and the asked and bid prices of certain other stocks, as furnished by Frederick H. Hatch to the *New York Tribune*, are as follows:

	Sept. 19. 1902. (Closing)	Range during 1902		Miscell. Stocks Sept. 20, 1902	
		Highest	Lowest	Bid	Asked
Amer. Beet Sugar (com.)	—	30	30	—	—
Amer. Sugar Ref. (com.)	130 $\frac{7}{8}$	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	116 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	—
Amer. Tobacco (pref.) . .	144	151 $\frac{1}{2}$	140	—	—
Cont. Tobacco (pref.) . . .	122 $\frac{7}{8}$	126 $\frac{1}{2}$	115	—	—
Gt. Northern Ry. (pref.)	198	202 $\frac{1}{2}$	181 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—
Intern'al Paper (pref.) .	73 $\frac{1}{2}$	77 $\frac{1}{2}$	72 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	—
N. Y. Central R. R. . . .	164 $\frac{1}{2}$	168 $\frac{7}{8}$	153 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—
Pennsylvania R. R. . . .	168 $\frac{1}{8}$	170	147	—	—
Ph. & Read. R.R. (1st pf.)	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	79 $\frac{7}{8}$	—	—
Southern Pacific Ry. . . .	79 $\frac{3}{4}$	81	58	—	—
U. S. Rubber (pref.) . . .	58 $\frac{3}{8}$	63 $\frac{1}{2}$	49 $\frac{7}{8}$	—	—
U. S. Steel (com.) . . . .	41 $\frac{7}{8}$	46 $\frac{3}{4}$	30 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	—
“ “ (pref.) . . . .	91 $\frac{7}{8}$	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—
Western Union Tel. . . .	95 $\frac{1}{2}$	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	84 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	—
<hr/>					
North. Securities Co. . .	—	—	—	114 $\frac{5}{8}$	115
Standard Oil Co. . . . .	—	—	—	675	680
U. S. Shipbuild'g (pref.)	—	—	—	59 $\frac{1}{4}$	61







Courtesy "Review of Reviews"

HON. PHILANDER C. KNOX  
*Attorney General of the United States.*

# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## TRIUMPH OF ARBITRATION

Thanks to the persistent and patriotic efforts of President Roosevelt, the coal strike is ended. In many respects, this has been the most remarkable strike in the history of industrial controversy. It has directly involved the largest number of the most poorly equipped laborers ever engaged in a single strike. On the other side has been arrayed the greatest combination of rich and powerful corporations that ever joined hands in resisting a single strike. Notwithstanding that it has involved the idleness of nearly 150,000 miners, largely immigrants from the poorest parts of Europe, whose habits and manners have been molded by the crude and often brutalizing environment of the mining camps, and who for the most part are ignorant and suspicious, familiar with neither our institutions nor language, this strike has been conspicuous for its good temper and order. Some violence occurred, inevitably, but considering the character of the strikers and the long duration of the struggle this strike was exceptionally peaceful.

On the other hand, in no strike did employers ever show such determination to resist all compromise, and win or lose to the last ditch; and it may be said with equal truth that no strike ever inflicted such widespread inconvenience, hardship and loss upon the public. It is one of the experiences that neither the men nor the corporations nor the public want soon to be repeated; yet, like wars and other trying experiences, it may have some beneficial aspects. If this experience has taught the laborers, or the corporations, or the public, the unwisdom of such con-



flicts,—if it has shown that demanding the impossible or denying the reasonable can only bring defeat and discredit in the long run, and that neither by the massing of numbers on the one hand or the consolidation of wealth on the other can either party permanently dictate to the other, it has taught a lesson that is worth all it has cost.

We are in the age of great things. With the introduction of modern industrial methods, large wealth sustains an entirely different relation to labor than it did in the ante-factory period. When, as in the middle ages and prior to the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the concentrated wealth was chiefly in the hands of land-owners, and the laborers were practically serfs, as they are in Cuba, Russia, and the more backward portions of England to-day, government authority, political and social, was in the hands of a small but rich class. Under that economic regime, the rich could ignore and dictate to the masses. They needed nothing of them, except physical service on the land or in the army; but when the factory system came, and modern methods of industry, with their huge machinery and multiplication of products, all this was changed. The masses acquired a new importance in the prosperity of society. They became as indispensable as consumers as they were and are as producers. The great corporations in every sphere of industry to-day are successful only in proportion as they multiply the output of an ever increasing variety of products. The great corporations, like the railroads, the Standard Oil Company, the sugar trust, the telegraph companies, the United States Steel Corporation, and other colossal concerns, would collapse in failure but for the immense increase in the consumption of products,—not by the stockholders and managers, not even by the well-to-do or middle class, but by the millions, the common wage workers of the country and the world. The fact that the wage-earning class, which constitutes some three-quarters of the population, consume the products makes possible the organization and success of the colossal enterprises that have startled the world during the last few

years. If the millions did not use the great variety of manufactured and other products, the railroads would have nothing to do, no telegraph company could make a dividend, and there would be no more opportunity for the J. Pierpont Morgans in the United States than there is in China or India.

In short, the great indispensable fact of modern progress and corporate success is the consuming power of the millions. It ought to be obvious to everybody, and especially to men of great affairs, that this is not only an inevitable part of civilization, and one upon which large corporate enterprises depend, but that to suppress or stop this movement of social expansion among the masses is to destroy the very foundation of modern prosperity. This involves two things, from which there is absolutely no escape:—that the wages of the laborers must increase, and that the social life and surroundings of the masses must be improved. Unless the laborers have more elevating, educating and stimulating environment, they cannot perceptibly increase their consumption of wealth, and if this does not advance the prosperity of productive capital must, in the nature of things, be arrested. If consumption does advance, it will bring an ever expanding market demand for the products of capital, and opportunity for new developments and increased profits for corporate enterprise. The concrete fact, then, which was so insignificant in the pre-factory period, and which has become the corner-stone of modern industrial progress, is improvement in the social life and increased consumption of wealth by the masses. This always means, in some form or another, increasing their income, or wages.

There is another fact connected with this problem:—that in the nature of things the demand for improved conditions, for better wages, for the means of larger consumption, must come from the laborers. It cannot and will not come as a voluntary contribution from the employers. It would not be as economically applied if it did; it would be more in the nature of charity, and probably be

largely wasted. In proportion as it comes through an intense demand of the laborers themselves, is it likely to be on the whole wisely used. In these respects, modern industrial conditions radically differ from the pre-factory conditions.

The late coal strike, with its twenty-two weeks of idleness for 150,000 men, with all the social demoralization which that implies, the cessation of the production of millions of dollars' worth of property, and the increased cost and unparalleled annoyance to the public, is all due to the failure to recognize frankly these few essential facts in the situation,—facts which can neither be changed, eliminated nor evaded. They are as permanent as any law in nature, and if we insist upon ignoring them there is no escaping the penalty. It is not necessary here to discuss the naturalness of labor organization. It is as natural as is the corporate existence of capital. It is a part of the same fact.

With the methods, civilization, and standard of living that make large corporations profitable and prosperous, there must and will be labor organizations. In the coal strike the corporations proceeded upon the assumption that they alone were legitimate; that, although the changed conditions of society had made corporations necessary, labor stood in the same position that it did in the ante-factory period. In other words, that since the corporations owned the property and the tools they alone should determine all the conditions of wages and work for the laborers, or, as President Baer put it: "The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for . . . by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of the country." Nothing more succinctly registered the employers' perverted attitude on the subject than this remarkable deliverance by the responsible representative of the corporations interested in this strike.

It will be remembered that at the commencement of this controversy the laborers asked for a conference to arrange a schedule of wages and other conditions for the



future. This the corporations refused. Here they made their initial error. The laborers had, as yet, made no specific demands regarding wages or anything else. They merely asked a conference. Had this been conceded, it is more than probable that the strike would not have occurred. Some unreasonable things might have been asked, but in a friendly, frank discussion these could probably have been eliminated. In any event, the demands might have been reduced to very limited proportions,—probably altogether too small to have justified a strike. The leaders, including Mr. Mitchell, were largely opposed to the strike, but in refusing outright to meet the representatives of labor and discuss the situation the employers forced the conflict. When this was reported to the convention of miners, it was as certain as any human event could be that they would vote to strike, and they did.

This first step of the corporations was the result of the mistaken assumption that there is really only one side to a labor contract, and that is the employers' side. That principle obtained in medieval times but is utterly futile under modern conditions of industry. Having made their first mistake, they proceeded to justify it. In doing this they very clearly emphasized their utter failure to recognize the essential condition of modern industry, namely, the group bargaining between labor and capital. They fully realized the principle of group bargaining on one side, but ignored it on the other. They not only acted as corporations, but they acted as several corporations in one, yet they refused to recognize the right of group bargaining among the laborers. They insisted upon individual bargaining, or bargaining with each individual miner.

In response to this the miners made formal demands for a reduction of hours of labor for certain grades of labor and increase of wages for others. It is not to be assumed that the laborers are more moral, high-minded, characterful, or more disposed to fair dealing than the corporations, but their right to organize and act in a body is established beyond dispute. Hence, in refusing to recognize that fact,

the corporations put themselves at a distinct disadvantage. Acting upon this disadvantage, the laborers presented their demands and volunteered to submit the whole question in dispute to arbitration.

Having taken one mis-step in self-defence, the corporations were practically compelled to take another. They refused to recognize the representatives of the miners. They then denied that there was any grievance and said there was nothing to arbitrate, declaring that they were "fighting for a principle." This was true. They were fighting for a principle, but it was an obsolete principle of the pre-factory period. As if further to intensify this mistaken attitude, ex-Mayor Hewitt, for whom the public has great respect, published an elaborate defence of the corporations. He declared that there was nothing to arbitrate; that for the corporations to recognize the representatives of organized labor would be to make Mr. Mitchell the dictator of the coal business, and put him in command of enough votes to decide the next presidential election. He demanded that Mr. Mitchell call the strike off at once, and declared that the corporations could not yield to arbitration, or recognition of the laborers, without sacrificing the principles of freedom and endangering the foundation of free government. Like Mr. Baer and the other corporation presidents, he declared that the workmen were not voluntarily on strike, but that a few agitators and ruffians, who controlled the unions, intimidated the great majority from returning to work. All this and much more was said in defence of the attitude of the corporations, in order to impress public opinion with the idea that the strike was a reckless mob movement inspired by a few desperate men who were intimidating and terrorizing the population of a whole region. The "reign of terror" was a common phrase.

In the meantime, the representatives of the miners kept repeating their offer to submit the case to arbitration, and it must be admitted that Mr. Mitchell on all occasions bore himself in the most creditable manner. He did not

even retort with hard names. The longer the strike continued, the more public opinion was impressed with the unfairness of the corporations' attitude, and sympathy with the miners increased. Even in the first conference at the white house, called by the president in the hope of getting the two parties together, Mr. Baer, representing the corporations, was rude and insulting in his language about the miners, and to the credit of Mr. Mitchell he did not retort in kind.

It is needless to say that for many weeks the more level-headed men among the corporation managers were heartily sick of the situation, but the step had been taken. They had declared that there was nothing to arbitrate. Then pride took the place of judgment, as it always does on such occasions, and they would stick it out if it lasted all winter. They had not the slightest idea that the men could endure for any such time. They supposed that within a month they would find half or three-fourths of the men pleading for the mines to be opened, but here they were mistaken again. They had failed to recognize the fact that the resources of labor improve in proportion as the resources of capital. It became manifest that with the cooperation of organized laborers in all other lines, the special cooperation of the miners in the bituminous fields and the encouragement of public sympathy, the miners could probably hold out until midwinter, if not until spring. The public began to demand that the operators mine coal, either with or without union labor. The operators insisted that they could get plenty of miners if they only had protection. It was the intimidation which was keeping the willing laborers from working. Nearly 10,000 soldiers were sent to the coal fields. This at once revealed the real state of the case. The miners did not go to work, which showed that they did not want to work, and proved that work was not being prevented by intimidation but by a united effort to sustain their demands. At last the corporations proposed the very thing they from the very first declared was im-



possible. After declaring for twenty-two weeks that there was nothing to arbitrate, and that they were standing out for a solemn principle, the strike was settled by their own proposition to arbitrate, the president to choose the arbitrators, which was the very thing they rejected a month ago.

During all this unfortunate experience, while the corporations thought they were resisting the effort of labor to dictate and manage the coal mining business, and then finally yielded to what they had declared was impossible, they were stimulating tremendously the movement towards socialism. They thought they were resisting the unions, they thought they were checking socialism, but in the manner of their propositions, the unreasonableness of their attitude, the errors of their statements, they have done more to justify socialism and stimulate the demand for public ownership of industries than a quarter of a century of socialistic agitation could have done.

The public, who have suffered from the inconvenience and high price of coal, the anti-monopoly agitators and the sentimentalists who believe in government ownership, all have been strengthened in the idea that the government should take charge of such industries as coal mining and other large enterprises. The effect upon public opinion in this direction has been so marked that the democratic party in New York state has definitely declared in favor of government ownership of the coal mines. All this is extremely unfortunate for invested capital, for the public welfare and for labor. That the corporations have been wrong in their attitude is demonstrated by the manner and method of the final adjustment which has taken place, and which could have taken place the first week of the strike, or before the strike began at all. But all the mistakes of the corporations are as nothing compared to the mistake of launching into a propaganda for public ownership of industry. Let that proposal get into politics and become a doctrine of one of the great parties, and the very basis of industrial stability is threatened. That experiment would

give us an experience that would be more fatal to the progress of enterprise than forty strikes.

The question naturally arises: Why do the mine operators refuse, at such great risk, to deal with labor organizations? There must be some reason for it. They are not fools, and they are not more than ordinarily perverse. Men of large means are not more unjust, more heartless, or less generous than laborers. The contrary is usually true. Then why do the mine-owners face public criticism and censure, and almost risk a cyclone of socialism, rather than treat with miners' organizations? If we push our inquiry far enough, we shall find that their action, mistaken as it may be, is the result of some experience. We condemn the walking delegate, and he is often a nuisance, but if we trace him to his origin we find that he came into existence as a remedy for the blacklist evil. So it is with every seemingly perverse act.

The chief reason for the operators objecting to negotiate with the union is that it is not reliable; it does not keep its contracts; it becomes offensively dictatorial, and indulges in all sorts of interference with the management, and disturbance of peace. Take, for instance, the Markle case. That is one of the best mining firms in Pennsylvania; it has been on generous, good-fellowship terms with its laborers; it recognized the unions; it entered into an agreement in which the union promised not to strike for any grievance until it had been submitted to arbitration. When the strike came in 1900, the miners of that firm disregarded the contract not to strike, notwithstanding that Mr. Markle himself personally addressed them and made a strong appeal to their honor to keep their contract, offering to submit every grievance they had to arbitration according to their mutual agreement. In the face of all this, they went on strike, treating their agreement as so much waste paper.

If laborers expect to be recognized, if they expect anybody to make contracts with them, they must keep their contracts. People without honor cannot expect honorable treatment. If labor organizations are to be effective, they

must be responsible, else they are nothing more than a mob. The miners complain that there are altogether too many laborers employed, so that few of them get full time. There is a reason for this, and it lies in the loose, reckless conduct of the laborers themselves. It is a common thing, where the union is strong, for the miners to go in and out of the mines whenever they please. Instead of working eight hours, which is supposed to be the minimum day's work, they will frequently leave after working three or four hours, no matter how urgent the demand for coal may be. If they take a notion to leave, they drop their picks and walk off. If a union miner is discharged for refusing to work a full day, a strike will be ordered. Thus, in the bituminous coal field, while the theory is that eight hours shall be worked, the actual is less than six. When they leave their work on Friday, as they often do, refusing to go in the mine on Saturday, many of them go on a drunk for two or three days, reporting perhaps Tuesday or Wednesday. If the employer complains, especially if he discharges one of the men for such a trifle, he may expect a strike; and so on through the whole catagory of misdemeanors and delinquencies.

A union is not only used to protect the rights and interests of the laborers, but under foolish, unwise management it is more frequently used to defend the inexcusable conduct of loose, irresponsible, and sometimes worthless laborers. It is this which has led, and very naturally, to the tendency to employ a larger number of miners than is really necessary. With such careless, irresponsible conduct, the mine-owners could only operate their mines half or two-thirds of the time. If the miners would work promptly, as promptly as do mechanics and factory operators and laborers in other fields, the employers would have no interest in encouraging a surplus of laborers merely to "hang around." Their earnings would be much greater, and the tendency to respectful mutual recognition would be altogether more general. It is the experience with this kind of conduct, the reckless leaving of work,



ordering strikes for mere whims, breaking of contracts and similar irresponsible acts, that is the chief basis of the determination of the mine-owners not to recognize the unions. In other words, the cause for this seemingly wanton opposition of the employers is mainly in the conduct of the laborers themselves. If laborers want the unions recognized, they must make them worth recognition. The whole standard of labor organizations must be raised, or they will be forever under the ban. Employers, like laborers, are human; they will seek the lesser of two evils that confront them. Yet, the remedy is not suppression of unions but their improvement and perfection, and this can never be accomplished by unqualified antagonism of employers. The real remedy lies in the direction of greater responsibility by the unions themselves for their conduct. Trade unions, like corporations, should become legal, chartered institutions.

The settlement of the strike by the arbitration commission may terminate the present conflict and establish peaceable relations, but it will not solve the problem involved in this strike. As the operators have frequently stated, the conditions of work are so varied that it is practically impossible to have a uniform piece-work rule throughout the whole anthracite region. This is made the basis of the objection to recognize the general labor organization. Before the problem is satisfactorily solved a new basis of employment will be necessary in order that a substantially uniform system may prevail. If this is accomplished, so that the same contract will furnish substantially the same results for all, and the unions become incorporated institutions, responsible for their agreements and the conduct of their members, the foundation will have been laid for a workable relation between the miners and the mine-owners, with union recognition, without demoralization of management. It is in this line, and not in brute-force resistance to unions, that the peaceful solution of this vexed problem must ultimately be found.

## MUNICIPAL SITUATION IN NEW YORK

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

The country-wide interest in last year's greater New York mayoralty campaign and its outcome affords a striking illustration of the growing appreciation of the importance of municipal problems. Throughout the length and breadth of this land the people were deeply concerned as to who was to be mayor of the first city of the United States. The papers and magazines were filled with articles and pictures concerning its various features. Sermons were preached and addresses delivered, and I have no doubt prayers offered, bearing upon the New York situation. It was regarded as a vital matter, and the triumph of Low and Jerome was generally regarded as a triumph of righteousness and decency of importance and influence, not alone in greater New York, but in every city and town in the country. It gave courage to the weak and faltering and faint-hearted, and strengthened the hands of the workers for municipal advancement everywhere.

Nor has the interest in the situation abated. Keen eyes and interested ones are watching every move of Mayor Low and District Attorney Jerome and their colleagues. Their successes are rejoiced over, their mis-steps criticised and discussed.

I think it can be said without the slightest exaggeration that the affairs of New York city are attracting as much attention as any other phase of political activity, city, state or national. This is a just recognition of the importance and position of municipal affairs. Mayor Low is second in authority and power to no other official in the United States, with the single exception of President Roosevelt. He controls the destinies of more employees and officials and has the disbursement of a greater budget and affects more directly and potently the lives of more people. The attention accorded him and his administration is therefore in keeping

with the importance of his work. Mr. Low was elected as mayor because so large a number of democrats were ready to put the city's interests above those of their party.

A difficult condition of affairs has arisen, and one which has not invariably made for efficiency. A mayor without the backing of a closely organized dominant party is in a position of great difficulty. He must succeed upon the merits of his administration, and, as he cannot do all that his once sanguine supporters want, he is likely to disappoint many more than he can possibly satisfy. There will be more or less disappointment with non-partisan mayors until the people reach the point of disregarding party lines in judging the acts of officials as well as at election times.

The New York situation has been and is most instructive. To begin with, the Low campaign was waged from beginning to end as a citizens' movement. Even the republican party which nominated Mr. Low and the whole fusion ticket took occasion to say formally and deliberately that:

"The republican city convention of New York represents a partisan organization. We believe that the federal and state governments can be conducted only by the party system; but we feel that the case is different with the administration of municipal affairs. The great city is a great business corporation. There should not be such a thing as a republican or a democratic way of cleaning the streets, or collecting the taxes, or arresting the pool-room and dive-keepers; and it makes no difference whether a man is a republican or a democrat when his duties are to manage the police department, to conduct the finances, or to supervise the whole municipal administration."

This National Municipal League doctrine formed the basis of the Low campaign. The great majority given the fusion ticket was indeed a mighty triumph, but the spirit manifested by the successful candidates was still more significant. Not one looked upon his election as the fruition but only as the commencement of his work. Mayor Low in making his appointments was guided by the same principles, and gathered around him an unusually capable and public-spirited group of men, and although some may not have entirely fulfilled expectations all are imbued with a sincere desire to serve the city to the best of their ability.



The city is the object of their solicitude. Public welfare is their first consideration. This is a great gain, even though every appointment may not prove to be a wise one.

The Low administration has another difficulty in that it must weld into a city party and administration the various elements cooperating in its election. The scheming politicians as represented by the Tammany and Philadelphia organizations win their battles by the very compactness and completeness of their organization. They move and work like the trained regular armies that they are. They are always at it, between as well as at elections. Mayor Low was elected by a fusion of forces at the polls, a considerable part of which represented dissatisfaction with the conduct of the hitherto dominant party, but not necessarily a full and complete renunciation of it. These men will have a tendency to revert to their former ties unless they can be made to see and realize that the redemption of the city depends upon a *permanent* disregard of party interests and ties in municipal affairs. Accordingly, if the citizens' union can be made the nucleus of a permanent organization of the voters of New York, based on the principle of the cooperation of all men, whether republicans, democrats, socialists, or prohibitionists, who want clean and wholesome government in New York, and who are ready and willing to work for it, then one of the burdens of Mayor Low will be materially lightened. The need of such a permanent citizens' body was voiced by President Wheeler H. Peckham, of the City Club, in a speech made after the November election:

"The last four years in New York have emphatically shown the necessity for an organization which shall aim at good city effort to reform an existing evil, the government. As a mere spasmodic effort, the present result is not a great one, but as an earnest of what is to come it is important and encouraging. Citizens must recognize that control of the city government will always be a tremendous prize for political rascals, and, if they desire to obtain all the advantages of the present victory, they must organize and continue their organization for all time."

Abram S. Hewitt expressed the same thought with equal forcefulness:

"I am well aware that the fusion party is a heterogeneous organization, and that perfect organization in such circumstances is more or less difficult, but now is the time for organization. The motive for fusion has ceased, because Tammany has been put out. What is the substitute? A love for good government, a determination to have it. The citizens' union, which represents the citizens who desire good government, has had, perhaps, a languishing existence. Now is the time, when it has demonstrated its strength, to strengthen it further."

That the Low administration would escape criticism was not to be expected. The character of the comments thus far made, however, are of a most encouraging kind. In the first place, it shows how high an estimate has been placed upon the character and ability of Mayor Low and his colleagues. In the second place, it is an evidence of the advance and development of public sentiment. Many things have been subjected to criticism under this administration which would have escaped it altogether under the Strong administration and been regarded as inevitable. In a way the standards of a people are evidenced by the objects of their criticism. Judged by this canon, the people of New York have made really wonderful progress. As a matter of fact, Mayor Low is entitled to regard the bulk of the criticism that has been directed at his administration as in the nature of a compliment and as illustrating the value of his mayoralty campaigns.

In forming any just estimate of his administration thus far we must bear in mind that he received a big heritage of old methods and instrumentalities. He could not begin *de novo*, but was compelled to take conditions as he found them and slowly but surely reform and remodel them. This has notably been the case with the police force. With but a few exceptions it is the same now as under Tammany, and under the law cannot be changed. What progress has been made has been accomplished through the different spirit which has been infused into the force by its head. In time this will work its way all through and will manifest itself

in all departments, but this will require time and patience. New York city human nature is much the same now as under Tammany, and the political millennium cannot be ushered in at once by a few public-spirited citizens and officials, no matter how earnest and self-sacrificing they may be.

We must not expect too much too soon from the Low administration, for it is working for reforms which have to do with men's opinions and sentiments, and these are changed but slowly. Mayor Low has to change these. If "to excite the desire for higher standards is the true work of reformers," then indeed has he succeeded.

The Low campaign was waged upon a positive platform, and the Low administration bids fair to succeed because of its fulfillment of its positive promise. The day of mere negative work in municipal affairs is passing. The reformer is not only seeking to destroy the hideous features of municipal evil and corruption, but to build up in their place and stead an enduring structure of substantial achievement. Party lines are being broken up in municipal elections because of this introduction of new and purely municipal issues.

The strength of Mayor Low's administration is demonstrated by its attitude toward criticism and in the manner in which it has gone steadily forward in the execution of its policies. It has not shifted its course with every adverse wind, but has steered steadily forward toward the port of its selection, and the wisdom of this is becoming every day more and more apparent. Criticism is already giving way to appreciation, and many among those who were most prone to find fault are cooperating to bring about the desired reforms. It must not be assumed that the difficulties are surmounted, but the people are beginning to see that the administration is headed the right way, that it is honest and capable, and that it is making as rapid progress as sound public policy demands.



## FIRST FRUITS OF THE COAL STRIKE

"We advocate the national ownership and operation of the anthracite coal mines by the exercise of the right of eminent domain with just compensation to owners. Ninety per cent. of the anthracite coal deposits of the world being in the state of Pennsylvania, national ownership can but be in the interest of the whole people.

"Fuel, like water, being a public necessity, we advocate national ownership and operation of the mines as a solution of the problem which will relieve the country from the sufferings which follow differences between labor and capital in the anthracite mines. This course will insure peace in the mining regions and remove the cause for differences leading not only to suffering, but oftentimes to bloodshed and insurrection.

"It will relieve the consumers of coal not only in this state, but throughout the whole country; insure steady employment and ample compensation to labor; transfer children from the mines to the schools; insure, strengthen and preserve the stability of the business interests and popular institutions of our country. Whatever differences of opinion may exist over other propositions of public ownership, the propriety of that policy as applied to anthracite coal mines must be apparent to every citizen."—*Platform, New York Democracy, 1902.*

Here are the first fruits of the coal strike. This plank from the democratic platform confirms the worst predictions that have been made regarding the influence of this strike upon public opinion and political action. It shows the hypocrisy of party politicians; it shows how flippantly they will sacrifice principle, public interest, and if need be the very foundation of stable society, to catch the temporary applause of the populace. It also shows, plainer than anything else could, the impending danger to vested interests, property rights and industrial freedom. If there were any doubt on this point, it must surely be removed by this action of the New York democratic convention, committing the democratic party of the empire state to the doctrine of national ownership and operation of the coal mines.

This is all the more surprising because this year the party is not in the control of the corruptionist Croker, nor of the populist Bryan; but the whole machinery of the party is now in the hands of David B. Hill, the man above all

others who for so many years has posed as an anti-paternal Jeffersonian-Tildenite democrat. It is the extreme Hill-Cleveland, conservative, anti-socialist element of the party. Whatever else might have been expected, the public would have been justified in believing that no political emergency or opportunity for power would have induced those so-called conservative democrats to adopt the public ownership of industry doctrine. Nor was this plank surreptitiously sneaked into the platform by the populists or Bryanites. On the contrary, it is made the most conspicuous issue in the campaign by this very David Bennett Hill, who for so many years has been solemnly denouncing paternalism, whose index finger has ever been pointing a warning against the "tendency" towards centralization of power and government meddling with industry. He, and those immediately associated with him in the present control of the democratic party, have been crying aloud against all government interference with industry as paternalism, tending to undermine individual activity and personal freedom. And now, as with the twinkling of an eye, they issue forth full-fledged advocates of national ownership and operation of the mines.

Lest this should not be taken seriously, Mr. Hill, in his formidable speech, which is to be circulated as a campaign document, enters into a lengthy argument advocating and justifying the ownership and control of coal mines by the government. That this is outright socialism goes without saying. Mr. Hill and the leaders of the democratic party have not become converted to the doctrine of socialism; nothing has occurred to change their theory. They hope by flaunting this political bait before the eyes of the excited public to climb back into power. As the New York *Evening Post* aptly remarks:

"Such reckless catering to the follies and passions of the hour as he has shown himself capable of should be a proof that he is as dangerous a man as Mr. Bryan, without being either as able or as honest."

There have been many instances of sacrificing honor and principle for office, but never before was there a case

where a whole party dishonestly reversed itself on a fundamental proposition and advocated what it had previously strenuously denounced as dangerous to popular government, as did the democratic party at Saratoga. And never did a conspicuously political leader so stultify himself and give the lie to every pretension of principle he had ever advocated as did David Bennett Hill in his advocacy of public ownership in his Brooklyn address.

If this proposition for government ownership is presented in good faith as the political doctrine of the party, why is the demand limited to the anthracite coal mines? Why not include the bituminous coal mines, also? Upon what principle of public policy should anthracite coal mines be controlled by the government, and the bituminous by private interests? If this is a sound doctrine in public policy, why not apply it generally? If coal mines should be owned and operated by the government, why should not gold and silver mines, and why not copper and iron mines? Why not all mining of every name and nature? And if all mining, why not all stone quarrying? And if all kinds of mineral digging, why not all kinds of extractive industries? If the government should dig the coal, iron, copper and stone, why should it not raise the wheat, corn and cotton? And why should it not own all the railroads and telegraphs? If it owns the railroads, why should it not manufacture the rails? All these are as much public necessities as is coal. On the plea that the government should own the coal mines because coal is a national necessity, it should own and control all staple industries, which are of equal necessity in our present state of civilization.

Mr. Hill can see naught but paternalism in the government protecting the opportunities of the American market to the American producers, but says:

"I can discover no paternalism, in the proper sense of that term, in the proposition to acquire the ownership of a public necessity now owned by private parties in a few counties of a single state in the union, such as anthracite coal mines."

He can see paternalism in the government merely



creating an opportunity for industrial effort, but can see no paternalism in the government actually owning and operating a productive industry like coal mining. Such reasoning is not stupid; it is dishonest. Because the government controls the turnpike and the post office, Mr. Hill reasons that it may legitimately own and operate the coal mines. This is exactly what the socialist orators have been dinning in his ears for these twenty years, and he has rejected it over and over again as paralyzing paternalism, which tended to undermine the very idea of freedom and destroy the basis of individuality. And now, under the spell of hunger for political office, he is not only advocating the tenets of socialism, but he is purloining the very argument of the east side social revolutionists, using it in the name of "Jeffersonian democracy."

But it is not merely Mr. Hill; it is the democratic party that stands committed to this socialist doctrine. When a party is committed to a doctrine it justifies all the stump orators and partisan editors in promulgating that doctrine. For the most part, these seldom think; they take their cues from the campaign books, party platforms and conspicuous political leaders. Mr. Bryan made the democratic party a populist party; Mr. Hill, in New York at least, is going one step farther and making it an out-and-out socialist party. The motive for all this is to catch the votes of the workingmen. Unscrupulous political leaders, like David Bennett Hill, are evidently willing to make party capital out of public misfortune. They are like thieves at a fire, profiting by the calamity of the people.

But it should be remembered, however, that political demagogues act only in accordance with the opportunities that are created for them. Hill would not have dared advocate public ownership of coal mines a year ago. On the contrary, he would have been conspicuous in denouncing such a proposition; and, had he proposed it, the party would have refused to insert it in its platform. Politicians of the Hill type are not leaders, but mere camp followers of public opinion. They do not educate in political principles and

sound public policy, but hang around, Micawber-like, waiting for "something to turn up" which will afford them an opportunity to fan the flames of public passion and ride into office as champions of the popular will. It matters not to them whether the drift which carries them into office is a wholesome movement for public welfare, or is making for disruption of the very foundations of business stability and popular government. But this may be expected. It is in the nature of mere party politics and hungry politicians.

The real responsibility for this is not with the politicians, but with those who create the opportunity for them to play their menacing games. That a situation like the present would come, sooner or later, has been clearly seen and predicted many times in these pages, but it was hardly expected so soon. The responsibility for this conversion of democracy into socialism, and the democratic campaign into a movement for public ownership of industries, rests with those who have created the public sentiment which makes such a political situation possible. The opportunity and incentive for converting the democratic party into a socialist organization, raising the banner of public ownership of industry as a national political doctrine, here in the United States, has been created largely by the mine owners themselves.

This campaign of confiscation and industrial demoralization, the end of which no man can tell, is the direct result of the unwise and indefensible conduct of the managers of the anthracite mining properties of the country. In their attitude in the strike they have shown persistent indifference to public interest and defiance of public opinion, wholly incompatible with the responsible ownership and control of great industrial affairs involving the interests of the public. They have treated the laborers as if they had no rights, and the public as if it had no interests entitled to consideration. They have assumed and even expressed the idea that they were divinely appointed, absolutely to control both their own interests and those of the laborers. Such an attitude may possibly eke out an existence in a country like Russia, but

it is intolerable in a free country like the United States. It would not be tolerated an hour in England. In their personal bearing, in their arguments, in their attitude towards public interests, the coal operators have been less dignified and even less manly than the representatives of the poor, ignorant miners.

This is indeed sad; it is depressing; not because of its effect on this immediate issue, but because of its influence on the tendency of public opinion and political action towards the industrial interests of the country in the future. The operators in every way overreached themselves. They carried the haughty course of "rule or ruin" to such an extreme that it was bound to react upon them. It did react, on the one hand by the fierce clamor of the people for coal, and the pressure of the national administration, which was about to institute legal methods to force a break, and on the other hand by furnishing an opportunity and excuse for the politicians in the democratic party to make public ownership their political doctrine for the first time in the history of the republic.

The first fruits of the coal strike have been to give political respectability to socialism, and make the public ownership of industry a political issue in the United States. Whatever may be the outcome of this unfortunate affair, the managers of the mine-owning railroads are chiefly responsible.



## THE TWO CONVENTIONS: *From the Galleries*

WILLIAM HEMSTREET

The late republican and democratic conventions of the state of New York were anticipated and viewed with more than unusual interest throughout the union. The commanding vote of the empire state in national conventions forces all political vision and deference to what is said and done by the New York state conventions, their incidents, personnel, and the platforms and candidates who are put forth. New York is politically a pivotal state; its partisan organizations are approximate to a standing army in system, rigor, discipline, rules of promotion, and leadership. Both parties enroll some men of ability, wealth, civic virtue, and national influence, as well as herds who do not deserve to vote, and their outlay in money in exciting campaigns is unequalled. The delegates of each party number 938. The usual place of meeting is in a grand and substantial amphitheatre, erected for the purpose in that queen of summer resorts—Saratoga.

The time is usually at the close of the fashionable season, when the autumnal tints and the more bracing mountain air have commenced. The visitor then sees the last flittings and whirlings of fashion; the shops and places of entertainment are attractive; the policing of the town is perfect; and thus, all in all, Saratoga becomes the Mecca of state politicians. The more active men of the parties, now called leaders, generally precede the mass by two or three days to arrange, by their superior sources of knowledge and conceded experience, plans for the methodical conduct of business, to agree approximately upon candidates and measures before the assembling of the main body. The numerous palatial hotels and boarding houses furnish ample entertainment for all classes of delegates and their retainers, according to their several purses and modes of living, with abundant electric, messenger and livery

facilities. So Saratoga has been called "the convention city." It could be aptly termed "the political clearing house." During the convention week the excursion cost of travel is generally reduced, so that, considering all, the inspiration, novelty and instruction received by the visitor are profitable.

Mention should not be omitted of those wonderful salubrious springs that seem to be a natural and fitting panacea to the usual convention indulgences. So methodical are political conventions in New York state, and so trained are the leading politicians, that such an amount of business can be transacted with celerity and precision, the announcement of public measures and candidates involving really a political revolution, as to quite bewilder, surprise and gratify observers from other countries, and at the same time display and prove the influence of popular liberty upon the development of civic genius. In a broad view it may be said that if our people are truly and necessarily divided in political temperament the distinction is clearly manifest here, as in our state and national conventions generally. One looking upon a democratic convention and a republican convention, held near together in dates, can notice this general division of character in personal appearances, in street scenes, the piazzas of hotels and boarding houses and the saloons, as well as by demonstrations in the convention hall. A bartender remarked: "Last week's crowd (republican) was a ginger-ale crowd, but this week's crowd (democratic) is a wine crowd." The pith of this remark can be seen and amplified by any common observer. The republican "crowd" plainly indicates habits of economy and temperance; the democratic, conviviality and a free-handedness. Each morning the sidewalks, piazzas and corridors, reading-rooms, and even parlors, bespeak in very distinct signs the characteristics, manners and breeding of the previous night's throngs.

Comparisons are always odious; nevertheless, permissible under responsibility. General Daniel E. Sickles said that if there had been no whiskey in congress in 1861

there would have been no rebellion. The aptness here of the citation is apparent. An intelligent foreign observer visiting our two conventions during two consecutive weeks would divide the participants into the peculiarly resolute and the peculiarly reflective. Of the democratic party he would say they are not a class whose native hue of resolution is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought, but that the republican party is. Of course there are many individual exceptions to this general rule. It is distinctly noticeable that democratic delegates are large chested and jowled, rubicund and smiling, seeming to say and to act the motto: "Live and let live." They are a robust, thrifty, positive, hypnotic type of born local leaders. They are not very apprehensive about the safety of the country but they are eternally concerned about their liberty. Their nerves are warm and covered with fat; they are good spenders, and that is why the landlords and landladies, in answer to inquiries, palliate their roystering excesses and waste during their brief stay. They look like a generous class of men, who can be effectively appealed to for sudden sympathy and help, that while they might charge the devil in hell they would not willingly harm a kitten. One evening on the broad sidewalk, in front of their general headquarters at the Grand Union Hotel, a large mass of these well-fed and well-drunk democrats was circled, in laughing humor, about three little negro children who were singing for pennies, and, notwithstanding the traditional hostility of the democrat to "coons," the contributions and applause for these little helpless and dusky performers were very generous.

The republican delegates throughout were more evenly classed within themselves in intelligence, manners and social standing than the democratic delegates, who embrace social extremes, the highest type of American citizenship for wealth and civic virtues along with the toughs and rowdies, as evinced often by expressions of profanity, obscenity and boisterous acts, requiring the apprehension of the police. Many circles of irreproachable democratic



delegates were seen together viewing with silent contempt their unceremonious and uncouth colleagues. The democratic delegations are accustomed to have many camp followers, who tend to bring reproach upon the party while they never serve any practical purpose of their ambitious leaders. This was the case with Devery's column. It was the up-country American democrat, John B. Stanchfield, the temporary chairman of the convention, who after his straight and sinewy six feet two inches of patience had been tried, walked like a caged lion back and forth upon the stage at the time of the Devery confusion and said with authority and defiance: "The dignity and might of this democratic convention is not to be affronted by thugs and ruffians." A Burchardism! But they recognized their master and subsided, while the opponents of the democratic party breathed a sigh of pleased surprise at this sign of moral division being recognized so bluntly by a democratic leader.

The republican convention assembled each adjourned meeting with precise punctuality, while the democrats were usually from half an hour to an hour dilatory. The republicans opened the first session with prayer; the democrats did not, some of them with apt comment and expletives saying the republicans knew what they needed. Only a little smoking of cigars was started and finally stopped in the first session of the republicans, while the hall of the democrats was always so fully beclouded with tobacco smoke that it was difficult to discern a face across the audience. There were twenty times more ladies present at the republican than at the democratic convention. The democrats rose, as did the republicans, when the band played "America." Both conventions showed equally the concurrent pre-arrangement of business, even though carried on with different incidents. Spontaneity, that abstraction of the inexperienced, was relegated to the lumber room of political science, and the proceedings were by pre-arrangement essentially harmonious, like those of a stockholders' meeting under the direction of a trusted president

and directors. For each convention manifold typewritten copies of the program of business were distributed to the leading participants. The state committeeman who had been designated to call the convention to order passed his copy to the temporary chairman, who, after his service, passed it on to the permanent chairman. This contained in detail the order of business, the names of the members who were to make the several motions, offer resolutions, etc. Each speech had been revised, fitted into its place, and the speaker designated beforehand. This cut-and-dried system was amusingly illustrated by the permanent chairman at the democratic convention, who though gifted was new. When he stated in stereotyped way: "The-chair-recognizes-the-gentleman-from ——— county—who-offers-the-following-resolution-which-the-secretary-will-read" (bang), he would, more often than not, be looking in the wrong direction for that individual, showing that he did not recognize him. As to personnel, the two conventions were cast in the same American mold, although of different alloys of metal.

The two leaders were similar in silence, location and manner. Senator T. C. Platt, as he passed down the aisle and took a seat with his colleagues from "Little Tiog," received a standing ovation from the audience. Senator D. B. Hill, as he took a seat in the other convention, received similar honors; neither leader said a word during any of the sessions, although each had a strong hand upon the helm and kept it there. Both were quiet and impassive, presenting the spectacle of silent, unimposing, unostentatious, absolute leadership, illustrating the American sway of intellect over pretentious demonstrations. We have heard of august, overawing emperors and despots, but it was a phenomenal spectacle here, of one individual in a concourse of 5,000, undistinguished by any badge, location, sign, word or deed, holding magical, silent, but absolute sway. To what is this leading us? But a mistake is made in ascribing to it bossism. These bosses are rather like moderators of a deliberative assembly, under prescribed rules and voluntary

concurrence. Thus the apparent sinking of individual delegates to the dead stagnation and inactivity created by dictatorship was only an intelligent agreement or submission to a well formulated plan, for the sake of brevity, uniformity and emphasis. This harmony was arranged by the leader of his county delegation ascertaining the opinions of his colleagues and then conferring at general headquarters, so that before the convention almost a complete and general understanding of all details was arrived at, the sessions being only a confirmation thereof. But upon the surface more individual independence was manifested in the democratic than in the republican convention, and the democrats bore off the palm of spontaneous and personal oratory. Each convention had its hackneyed old pipers, and each had its usual bustling demonstrations of passing down the aisles and attracting attention after the sessions opened by the clacque of their heelers, who appeared to be on the lookout for the stereotyped stage-play and advent of the important personages.

Of the Devery episode this should be said: The big ex-chief of police of New York makes a better impression upon the observer than the newspaper character given. His face and manner are that which would warm a stranger confidently to him; he looks as though he could beard a lion in his lair but lose his life in defending an infant. His manners are gentle and his language less crude than commonly reported. While burly, he is physically perfect, rather than sensuous. His face is classic, skin clear and temper composed, bearing no evidence of intemperance. He was universally popular among the delegates and spectators. When the report of the committee on credentials was read denying both him and his rivals seats in the convention, "on account of widespread fraud and corruption," there was manifest another outside gratification and surprise at this moral discrimination by a democratic convention, acquiesced in by even Tammany Hall. Mr. Devery took the platform, and pointing to Senator Hill conjured him as the leader of the state democracy to see that justice was



done, but the latter did not respond by either feature or word during the tumult. Devery and his friends then, with submission and quietude, left the hall and the convention proceeded with smoothness. It was unique and interesting to observe the magic influence of political purpose in coalescing Tammany and the county democracy, with eyes softly uprolled with rapt and trusting smiles. But, most memorable of all, was the impromptu, instinctive, glowing tableau of John B. Stanchfield, the well-named, crushing an incipient danger. It was at once spectacular and portentous. Erect, indignant, defiant, his warning came up from the bowels of American democracy like the whilom pronouncements of other democratic heroes,—Andrew Jackson's "The union must and shall be preserved"; John A. Logan's "The men of the North would hew their way to the gulf with their swords"; John A. Dix's "whoever hauls down the flag, shoot him on the spot"; and Roswell P. Flower's "I don't care a d—— about votes, I am after lawbreakers." This incident of the hour may augur a future meeting of troubled waters, a crash, a roar, and then a quiet and wholesome assimilation by superior forces.

A very grateful feeling arose in the minds of spectators of both conventions that after all the country is safe in its latent patriotism, for, though the earnestness of all speakers showed strong and studious conviction (a hint that any of us may be mistaken), yet, under superficial differences of manner, sect, origin, education, there is deep at heart, among all, a serious and reliable devotion to the common welfare.

## CHINAMEN AS LABORERS \*

Mr. Stuart's paper evidenced that the author had paid a great amount of attention to the subject. His comparisons were in all cases very carefully drawn, and the examples quoted might be considered as thoroughly representative.

Speaking generally, Mr. Stuart divided his comparisons under the following heads: farming, rock drilling, quarrying, transport by water, haulage, excavating, brick-laying, stone cutting and carpentry. A comparison between the results of farming land in the neighborhood of Shanghai with land in Norfolk, England, showed that area for area the latter was about 15 per cent. cheaper, but that where 1.2 coolies were required to an acre of land in Shanghai only .47 men were required in England. Noting, however, that the Chinese coolie got two crops in a year off his land, Mr. Stuart estimated that the English farm laborer was 21 per cent. better, man for man, than the Chinese.

In rock boring by hand with a hammer and drill a white man is equal in point of work done to two Chinese, but the latter do the work 61 per cent. cheaper, which is a consideration. In quarrying Mr. Stuart showed that the Chinese could turn out stone from a quarry face 8 per cent. cheaper than in the case of Scotch quarriers, while stone can be broken by machinery looked after by Chinese 36 per cent. cheaper than when the same machinery is worked at home, although in the latter case only 11 men were required in England against 26 men in China. Combining the costs of quarrying and breaking, Mr. Stuart showed that Chinese labor was 17 per cent. cheaper than white.

The comparisons of cost of transport by water were particularly interesting, and Mr. Stuart showed that in

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\* Condensation of report of a recent meeting of the Society of Architects and Engineers of China, for which we are indebted to the courtesy of Hon. Henry B. Miller, United States consul at New-Chwang, China.

China material could be carried by water at half its cost in Europe. In road-making the Chinese coolie was 58 per cent. less effective than a white man.

The paper then dealt with the amount of work done by a Chinese coolie with a wheelbarrow, which means of haulage was 15 per cent. cheaper than by pony carts. Perhaps the most striking example of the superiority of western over Chinese labor was shown in stone breaking by hand, where one European could do the same work as five Chinese, though the latter was 70 per cent. cheaper.

In excavation work the Chinese coolie was 80 per cent. less effective than a white man. The Chinese bricklayers were man for man only about 32 per cent. as effective as Englishmen. At stone cutting Chinese labor was 70 per cent. cheaper than white, though one European could get through the same amount of work as three Chinese.

Summarizing, Mr. Stuart said that as a result of a rather long experience in superintending Chinese labor he had a great respect for the Chinese workman. He could not perform so much work in a given time as the white man because he was not so strong, but he made some amends for this by working on Saturday afternoons, Sundays and holidays. His working year contained about 15 per cent. more working hours than the British workman's and he seldom went on strike. He had a few peculiarities but they were set off by many good qualities. Altogether, the Chinese laborer was a most valuable asset of the empire.

Mr. J. Kerfoot was sure every one had listened with great interest to the very able paper read by Mr. Stuart. There were several industries he had not touched upon, probably because he could not obtain correct information. Anyhow, as far as he had gone, he proved that the Chinaman was from 40 per cent. to 50 per cent. cheaper in most industries than white labor; but that it took 2.5 Chinese to do the work of one European. Taking his own business, cotton spinning, it was a mistaken idea that most people had in Shanghai that the non-success of the cotton mills



here was attributable to the labor. He might say that if all other matters were on a par with the workers the mills would always return good dividends. He had had opportunities of comparing wages with some of the best Japanese and Indian mills, and found the Chinese from 16 to 20 per cent. cheaper on similar work, although the Chinese had only been under proper supervision during the last five years, whereas in the other two countries they had had cotton mills for the last twenty to thirty years. Comparing Chinese with Lancashire operatives, who were the best in the world, he found for similar work the Chinese were from 30 per cent. to 40 per cent. cheaper, and there were two operatives of the latter to one in Lancashire. When the mills were first started the ratio was about four to one; he had hopes that when the young people, who were coming into the mills at 9 and 10 years of age, had five years' experience, they would be able to reduce the number still further.

There was no doubt piece work was the best way to get the most out of Chinese labor. He had found the people very steady and industrious, and as for the management there were no such things as strikes, trade union officials, or factory inspectors; these might come in time, when the native shall have had the advantages of education. There was certainly no white man who would work the hours that Shanghai mill operatives worked, the time being about 30 per cent. more throughout the year than that worked by Lancashire people. The agriculturalist of China, with his two crops per annum, got out of the earth all he possibly could, and with rude implements and few fertilizers showed what was possible. Take cotton growing. In China in a good season the farmers got about 500 pounds of lint per acre, whereas in America, with all the latest improvements they could only produce 200 pounds per acre.

As regards stevedore coolies, he was informed the other day, by a P. & O. captain, who had visited most of the chief ports of the world, that the Britisher was the best paid stevedore and the Chinaman the worst, and although

it took four Chinese to one Britisher, the former were the best at the work. Sea-faring men had often told him they preferred Chinese sailors and firemen to any other nationality, this proving that the steadiness and the slow but sure way of working of the celestial had many redeeming features.

Mr. T. Bunt said he knew that in steel making 50 per cent. more coal was burnt than was necessary. It was thought by the Chinese that any coolie could throw coals on the fire, and the coolie burnt more than a good European worker's wages every day. But where there was good supervision there was no man to equal the Chinaman on a steamship.

Mr. Hiller said that he thought Mr. Stuart had proved what he said. If any of the tramway people were present, they would feel rather upset to hear of the number of pounds a Chinese coolie could carry about at such a cheap rate. His own experience was that the Chinese coolie was cheaper than the foreigner. He found that the labor in Shanghai for laying mains was about a third of the cost of similar work at home. This class of work used to be done by day labor, and then by contract. He noticed that the London county council were only getting their bricklayers to lay 300 bricks a day. That was the work of the union to which the men belonged. Comparing these figures with those quoted by Mr. Stuart, it appeared that the union and the Chinese work seemed to be on a par. The Chinese had no unions or strikes. When they were given day work the Chinese always liked to spread it out as much as possible so as to get their friends in. Unless a tremendous amount of European supervision were provided the only thing seemed to be to put the Chinese on contract work.

Mr. Kerfoot remarked that the whole of the work in his mill was done by contract, paid by the piece.

The chairman, in closing the discussion, said that with regard to agriculture the Chinese farmer was blessed with most pliable ground, in this part of China. The English farmer, with the same advantages, would not find it difficult

to obtain such crops as the Chinaman. The main point they had to consider was that of supervision. The Chinaman was an excellent workman if he were properly looked after. There could be no doubt, however, about the Chinese coolie being a cheap man, and if well looked after he could be made to do very good work.

With regard to the higher branches of trade in which the Chinaman was employed, such as machinery making, etc., the same remark applied. If superintended they could turn out very good work, but if left to themselves the output could not be compared as regards quality and finish to the machinery sent from foreign countries.

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[Incidental features of the discussion here reported throw much stronger light on the real condition of the Chinese laborer-serf, for that practically is his miserable lot, than the direct testimony as to his productive powers. It is stated in his favor that while he is not so strong as the white laborer he makes "some amends for this by working on Saturday afternoons, Sundays and holidays." Another speaker has hopes that when the children, who are "coming into the mills at 9 and 10 years of age," have had five years' experience they will be more effective than the present average of Chinese labor. It appears also that there are "no such things as strikes, trade union officials, or factory inspectors," but the same speaker, to his credit be it mentioned, thought that these "might come in time, when the native shall have had the advantage of education."

A country whose laborers are willing to work seven days in the week, who know nothing of organization for improved conditions, and who lack even the spirit to demand improvement; where the children enter the mills at 9 and 10 years of age, and where no governmental regulations of the conditions of factory labor exist, is still submerged in barbarism, whatever the splendors of its official institutions or pride of ancient traditions. It may require another half century of inflowing progressive ideas and experience under western industrial methods to bring China within the threshold of modern civilization.—Asso. Ed.]



## THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF WEALTH

GEORGE ETHELBERT WALSH

The second era of a nation's wealth and prosperity is sometimes more interesting and instructive than the first, and it is a surer test of the people's character to inherit than to make immense fortunes. The stories of our pioneer money-makers developing the resources of a new continent, and of wringing from the unwilling soil the fortunes that have made their names famous, furnish romance and melodrama sufficient to satisfy the most exacting readers, and a certain portion of humanity will never tire of hearing the tales repeated until they become threadbare and monotonously alike in all except small details. It was a picturesque time of our history when unconquered nature invited man to come and wrest from her the possessions of her mines, forests, streams and farms, and the gallant band of pioneers who accepted the challenge and triumphantly won in the struggle must forever occupy a prominent niche in our imagination.

The gradual disappearance of that period of our national life when fortunes were made and not inherited becomes more marked every year, and the appearance of the wealthy families who inherited their fortunes grows in proportionate ratio. The sharp contrasts presented between the two periods are fruitful of thought and speculation. The strong, rugged pioneers reaped fortunes as rewards for their energy, privations, and sufferings, but succeeding generations received without work of any kind the wealth thus accumulated. The change is certain to produce effects upon our national life for better or worse according to the use to which these inherited funds are put. The study of the pioneer age, the great fortune-making era of our country, has practically closed, and the curtain has now been rung up on a new scene. The assertion recently made by a millionaire congressman to his son that he had

never earned a dollar in his life could be applied with equal force to the young scions of many other wealthy American families.

The effect of riches, either acquired or inherited, must be either wholesome or unwholesome in the main, and the individual must after all determine the issue. The man with the money and leisure to study and cultivate the arts and sciences of civilized life may put his wealth to better use than the stern, rugged pioneer who could accumulate a fortune but could not use it to the best advantage. The grasping tendency to coin money for the mere love of it does not mellow or broaden the character of the man, nor does it produce as good effects upon society as the habit of spending freely and judiciously. The present use of our large fortunes is consequently more important to the state and nation than their accumulation. The considerable class of today who inherited the great fortunes of the past must determine the sturdiness and independence of the American character more than their ancestors whose lives were spent in accumulating them.

The recent spectacle of thousands of wealthy and titled Englishmen going to South Africa to take their chances in the fortunes of war affords abundant proof that wealth does not necessarily destroy patriotism and a sense of duty to the state and public. The philanthropy of scores of our wealthy families in recent years has helped more to suppress a growing feeling of hatred toward the millionaire class than all the technical books on political and social economy. In nothing are the tendencies of this second era in our national wealth more important than in the wise distribution of wealth for the benefit of the poor and less fortunate. Personal gifts and distribution of money to individuals without adequate returns would be, like class legislation, vicious, and the only safe channels in which fortunes can be distributed are those of a more or less public character. Museums of art and science, where the poor can study the wonders of man's and nature's productions, libraries that afford opportunity to study and read

the master minds of all ages, colleges that are democratic in their aims and ambitions, churches that appeal to the moral welfare of all, hospitals and asylums for the needy and unfortunate, and cooperative institutions of one kind and another—all these are legitimate and worthy objects for the generous wealthy to help and encourage, and through them they reach the masses in the most beneficial way.

It is in this particular line of work that the descendants of the first wealthy American families are making a wise use and distribution of the immense funds that have come down to them from the past. While there are some selfish enough to prove the proverbial exceptions to the rule, the majority of the best families feel their responsibilities to the country in which they live, to give liberally and intelligently. In these benefactions cities, states, and the whole nation participate, and we are wiser and better for them. Spending a fortune is fraught with as much peril and difficulty as making one, and if it can be said that the man has used his inherited wealth wisely and intelligently, employing it more in the light of a trust fund than an actual personal possession, the remark that he has never made a dollar in his life loses its sting.

The Astor family is one of the most interesting and conspicuous in this country because of its great wealth and the romantic conditions under which the original John Jacob Astor made his fortune. As one of the original trappers and dealers in hides and pelts, he was particularly a son of toil and a pioneer settler of this continent. The wealth he left to his heirs has since rolled up continuously, but the succeeding members of the family have been foremost in contributing to the useful and charitable institutions of the country. The city and state of New York have been benefited to the extent of millions of dollars. The amount of money distributed during their lifetime can never be definitely ascertained, for much of it was given anonymously and under the strictest secrecy. Of the known gifts of the Astor family there is the great Astor



Library, founded in 1848 by John Jacob Astor, in a legacy of \$450,000, and further improved and enlarged through successive gifts of his sons. John Jacob Astor, the son of the former, gave in the aggregate \$700,000 in his will, published in 1890. Mrs. John Jacob Astor during her lifetime contributed thousands of dollars to the Children's Aid Society, the East Side Industrial School, and the Newsboys' Lodging House, and at her death in 1887 she left \$150,000 to these and similar institutions. William Astor in 1892 left legacies amounting to \$145,000 to public institutions. The present Col. John Jacob Astor has not only been free in distributing funds to worthy institutions, but when our war with Spain broke out he equipped his celebrated mountain battery for the government and turned over his handsome steam yacht to the navy without recompense in any way. In addition to this he served in the war, and passed through hardships with the ordinary soldiers.

The Vanderbilts are probably the second great representative American family that has inherited its fortune from pioneer days. For two generations now the descendants of the founders of the family have had wealth enough to organize a small nation and pay its running expenses. The distribution of this fortune has been through many channels of philanthropy and charity. William H. Vanderbilt at his death in 1885 made charitable bequests amounting to \$1,150,000, notwithstanding that he had endowed the College of Physicians and Surgeons with half a million dollars during his lifetime, and had made extensive donations to the Episcopal church and to the University of Tennessee. Cornelius Vanderbilt during his lifetime was one of the most generous of givers, and not half the sum he presented to charitable objects will ever be known. The Young Men's Christian Association was liberally helped by him, and St. Bartholomew's Home received several hundred thousand dollars from his purse. His gifts to Yale College amounted to a million and a half, and at his death nearly a million dollars more were distributed among various institutions. William K. Vanderbilt and George W. Vanderbilt

are both closely identified with numerous charitable and benevolent institutions, and it is said they give a hundred thousand a year to such objects. In nearly all cases the gifts are secret, and only such ones are made public that would not suggest a desire to obtain public credit for what they consider their ordinary duty.

The Gould family has not been as closely identified with public charity as the Astors or Vanderbilts, but Helen Gould in the past five years has displayed the intelligence and desire of a gifted woman anxious to dispose of her trust in the right way. Her contributions have been not only in funds, but in personal effort and investigation. No man knows how many thousands of dollars she distributes annually. It is said that our late war cost her more than any other individual in the United States. That is, she contributed to different objects in connection with it thousands of dollars. George Gould has liberally supported various institutions, and his administration of his father's enormous estate has been with a sense of justice and fairness to all.

So common is the habit becoming for wealthy people to contribute of their funds to found and support worthy institutions that we do not have to wait for the death of the pioneer money-makers for large benefactions. Like Dr. Pearson, of Chicago, the idea is gaining ground among the wealthy that it is much better to distribute a part or all of their fortune before death, so that they can be sure of its doing the good intended. So many estates have been tied up in the courts after the death of their owners that the colleges and charitable institutions have waited years for their benefactions.

Thus we find Andrew Carnegie giving away \$3,000,000 to the Pittsburg Library and Art Gallery, \$3,000,000 to Chicago University, and many millions to libraries and other institutions. John D. Rockefeller bestows million after million on Chicago University, and promises other millions if similar amounts are raised elsewhere. His donations to the university amount to over \$7,000,000, and contributions have been given by him to other objects of a

semi-public character, particularly to the Baptist church and to the University of Rochester. J. Pierpont Morgan has been lavish in his gifts to charity, to the church, and to various other institutions. Eight years ago he gave half a million to the New York Trade Schools, and in 1897 he offered at a cost of a million dollars a new home for St. Luke's Hospital if the institution could raise from other sources sufficient funds to carry on its enlarged work. Donations of \$25,000 and \$50,000 have been made to more than half a dozen other institutions.

The matter of spending and distributing great fortunes becomes every decade as important as that of making them, and the man who succeeds in amassing his millions is expected to share some of his good fortune with the needy, not in helping them directly, but in building up and supporting those institutions which particularly benefit all. No country in the world has made more money in the past half century than the United States, and no land has a tithe of the millionaires who bestow princely sums upon public and semi-public institutions of a practical character. Their funds are not spent in erecting worthless monuments to their own names, but in establishing useful institutions that will shower blessings upon thousands long after the givers' decease.

An idea of the growing proportions of these gifts of the wealthy to churches, colleges, schools, hospitals, and asylums can be gathered from statistics. In 1899 the donations and bequests of America's wealthy to public causes and institutions amounted to \$79,000,000. This represents the high-water mark of philanthropy, partly because in that year prosperity had returned after years of business failures and depression. In 1898, however, when thousands had been impoverished, and even the wealthiest had their incomes materially reduced by hard times, the gifts to public and semi-public institutions and objects amounted to \$24,000,000.

These enormous sums come from comparatively limited numbers, and are not the small donations of the mul-



titudes. In 1899 thirty-four persons made donations ranging from \$100,000 to \$28,000,000. The value of education as an important factor in the welfare of our country was recognized by many of these millionaires through the munificent donation of \$55,500,000 to colleges, universities and academies. There could be no better testimony to the value of an education, and whether the millionaire believes that a college education pays or not he is satisfied that the institution of learning is worth supporting and helping along.

The ambition to rise in the world and to carve out a fortune in a legitimate and honest business is a worthy one; but unless we know how to share our rewards wisely with the rest of the world we can never attain to our fullest and best development. The man who inherits a fortune has also entailed upon him a responsibility as heavy and momentous as another who finds that he must struggle for his daily living. Nature never intended that any should shirk the burden of life, and he who thinks he is exempt from life's responsibilities is a victim of vain delusions.

## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

WHAT HAS BECOME of the prophecy about the ruin of Cuban industries and starvation of Cuban laborers? We were told that if congress did not immediately lower the duty on Cuban sugar, starvation, ruin and revolution would infest the island. The duty was not reduced, the summer has passed, and no word of ruin and starvation has arrived, nor is there any evidence that bankruptcy has increased or paupers multiplied.

Nothing more discreditable has happened in years than the effort to make it appear that the American people are cruel, heartless, and dishonorable to the point of down-fight hypocrisy because they refused to destroy a rising American industry. The utter fallacy of all predictions regarding Cuban calamity, made before the adjournment of congress, ought to be a sufficient answer to those who clamor for a reopening of the subject in the coming session.

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SECRETARY of the Treasury Shaw has been making some investigations into the trust question. Among other things he has discovered that the United States Steel Corporation produces only 43.9 per cent. of the iron ore dug in this country, 42.9 per cent. of the pig iron, 66.3 per cent. of the steel ingots and castings, 50.1 per cent. of the rolled products, such as steel rails, structural shapes, plates, etc., and only 65.8 per cent. of the wire nails; and this proportion is less than it was a year ago. Since the steel corporation was organized, the output of these products has very much increased; so that, instead of having a monopoly, it does not control half the products in its own line. There is no danger of monopoly from a corporation, however, large, which represents no more than 50 per cent. of the industry. The competition in iron and steel products is more close and more effective to-day than it ever was, because it is now a competition between giants.

MR. CLEVELAND volunteers the advice to the American people that the important reform now most needed is a reduction of the tariff. He is an expert on all prosperity diseases; a past master, in fact, in the extermination of prosperity microbes. He is specially adapted to this profession, because no amount of suffering checks the application of his remedies. The last time he was called in he killed more prosperity in three months than any other living American was able to do in as many years. The fact that throughout the country prosperity was replaced by bankruptcy, panic and soup kitchens, did not phase him in the least. And, moreover, he is impervious to experience; he is proof against learning new ideas or unlearning old errors. The havoc and desolation of 1893 made no more impression upon his thinking than would the falling of snowflakes upon the back of a crocodile. He is ready to repeat the whole performance, without a quiver or squirm. Mr. Cleveland is clearly a case for Tom Moore's formula for patriotism: "Find out what the Tories want, and vote against it."

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IT IS DOUBTFUL if there was ever a strike in which the consensus of public opinion was so thoroughly turned against the employers as in the coal strike just brought to a close. In their conduct of the controversy, from beginning to end, the coal operators have acted so uniformly upon wrong principles that the ground has gradually slipped from under their feet as the days and weeks passed by. None of their predictions have been verified. Their declarations of principle have come to naught; most of their statements of fact have been challenged, and the very thing which they declared to be absolutely impossible, namely, to arbitrate the difficulties, has proved to be the final basis of settlement. In fact, they have gradually lost the support of the entire press of the country (with perhaps the single exception of the *New York Sun*), and all the respectable conservative opinion. This is unfortunate because it tends to bring the management of large corporate



concerns into public disrepute. But, as there is no evil without some good, it may have a wholesome effect, if only to induce large corporations to put more sensible and larger caliber men than President Baer at the head of great business interests.

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IT IS VERY satisfying to observe that even in politics demagoguery does not always pay. In trying to make political capital out of the coal strike by declaring in favor of national ownership and control of the coal mines, David B. Hill and the New York democracy overshot the mark. Their hypocrisy was too obvious to fool anybody, and instead of catching votes it is proving to be a boomerang. Everybody can see that this was a blatant bid for the vote of the laborers, and now, as if by malice aforethought, by the settlement of the strike cruel fate has deprived the dishonest scheme of every vestige of virtue.

With the strike settlement in sight, Mr. Hill's candidate for governor did not dare sustain the public-ownership plank of the platform upon which he was nominated. Such cheap dishonesty and insult to the intelligence of the workingman should and doubtless will receive its proper answer at the polls. There are many reasons why the Platt-Quigg-Gibbs influence in the republican party of New York should be voted to the rear, but such bald hypocrisy as exhibited by this public-ownership bid for popularity should take precedence of all other political offences. Its authors should be retired so effectively as to destroy their future influence in their own party.

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FOR HIS HEROIC and finally successful efforts to bring about a settlement of the coal strike, President Roosevelt has earned and will receive the hearty congratulations of the entire country. Most men, for politic reasons, would have desisted in the face of such opposition as the corporations at first presented. Courage and push, when accompanied by good sense, usually win. The president has done more than settle the largest strike in history, he has

introduced, and done much to establish, the principle of arbitration. In this outcome, the flippant phrase—"There is nothing to arbitrate"—has received its death-blow. Hereafter, no amount of respectability will induce the public to take that plea seriously. In this case, as in all others, the settlement has finally been reached by compromise and reasonable agreement. It might have come in the first week as easily as in the twenty-second, and the laborers have been spared the loss of wages, the public the burden of high prices and soft coal nuisance, and the corporations the humiliation of having to accept what they solemnly declared to be impossible.

In bringing about the settlement of the coal strike by arbitration, President Roosevelt has made a lasting contribution to the peaceful methods of adjusting labor disputes.

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THE COAL STRIKE revealed the fact that, after all, there is a duty on anthracite coal, although it was supposed to have been on the free list. The clause in the Dingley bill making the tariff 67 cents a ton on bituminous coal also applied to all coals containing less than 92 per cent. of fixed carbon, and really affects nearly all foreign anthracite coal.

A great ado has been made about this, as if the duty were a great burden to the consumers. The fact is that, except in a case like the present strike, a duty on anthracite coal would be absolutely without effect, as no anthracite coal would come to this country if it were on the free list. As to bituminous coal, the duty is purely a revenue duty. If the 67 cents duty were removed, it would not affect the price of coal in the least. It would simply let Nova Scotia coal come into New England and sell at the same price as Pennsylvania bituminous coal. The American product, being indispensable, would fix the price, and Nova Scotia operators would get the advantage in profits, and the United States treasury would lose the revenue. That was tried under the Wilson bill, and the only effect was to increase the profits of the Nova Scotia mine owners and reduce the revenue for the United States. The price of coal in the

United States was unchanged. The hubbub about the oppression of the public to benefit the mine-owners by the tariff on coal is so much empty noise.

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"It is particularly the opportunity of the operators to set their house in order, to correct obvious abuses, and to so manage their business that if they should have to face a similar crisis they may have full claim to public support. The most loyal and ardent supporters of the operators for the past months could hardly assert that their case has been well conducted. From the beginning they were most unfortunate in their spokesman. President Baer's pious cant about the divine right of himself and his fellow-presidents disgusted thousands of men who see in labor demagogues one of the greatest dangers this country has to confront. But more than this, it has seemed almost as if they had deliberately undertaken to make themselves ridiculous before the people by their public utterances."—*New York Evening Post*.

THIS IS SEVERE, especially from so conservative a source as the *Evening Post*, which has no sympathy with organized labor. Yet, it is probably mild as compared to some things Mr. Baer will have to hear behind the scenes. Of course, it is to be assumed that the practical men of large affairs were not correctly represented by the performances of Mr. Baer. For the time being he was their mouthpiece, and they had to "grin and bear it," but it is safe to predict that he will never again occupy such a position. How quickly the strike came to an end when a new hand and a larger mind took the helm! If a man of the caliber of Mr. Morgan, or a Rockefeller, a Schwab or a Cassatt, had been at the head of affairs, this strike probably would not have occurred and the discredit to the corporations and the consequent stimulus to socialism would have been avoided.

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AN INTERESTED correspondent calls our attention to an editorial in the *Observer* (Hoboken), setting forth that the laborers are actually worse off now than during the calamity years of the Cleveland regime.

The *Observer* says the labor department and treasury



bureau statistics at Washington furnish figures (it does not cite them) which "warrant the statement that prices of all commodities are higher now than they have been at any previous time since the civil war, when there was such an inflation as may never be seen again," and that it is costing the laborer "more to live than at any time previous during the present generation. He is getting less of the good things of life than he did as recently as the year 1896."

How utterly false! From the close of the war (1865) to 1891, general prices of all articles (agricultural and manufactured) fell from 190.7 to 92.2, or over half. Since 1891, the average prices of all commodities have risen slightly less than 2 per cent.; so that to-day general prices are about 50 per cent. lower for the same articles than at the close of the civil war.

The statement that prices are higher "than at any time during the present generation" is a bit of the same kind of prevaricating. Prices to-day are fully 30 per cent. lower than a generation ago (1870). It is true that wages have not risen as fast as they ought to have during the present period of prosperity; but all such talk as is here put forth by this Hoboken paper is a discredit to the poorest type of journalism.

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THE SUPREME COURT of Rhode Island has recently handed down a most significant decision on the constitutionality of a ten hour law, which will be far-reaching in its effect.

It has been a part of the tendency of civilization to shorten the working day, sometimes by mutual arrangement through the influence of trade unions, sometimes by legislation. With one or two exceptions thus far the legislation has been limited in its application to women and children. This line was drawn on the theory that the children are minors, and women are wards of the state, not being citizens and having no voting rights.

The legislature of Rhode Island passed a law restricting the working hours of employees of street railway cor-

porations to ten per day, and making any contract to the contrary illegal. The supreme court has just decided that this law is constitutional, on the ground that it is for the public good, and in this opinion the court had only one dissenting vote. The majority declared that "the public safety cannot be made dependent on private contracts." In other words, that workmen shall be protected against being compelled by mere necessity to make contracts which endanger public safety.

The plea that laborers desire to make a contract to work twelve and fourteen hours a day is sophistry; it never was true in practice. They make a contract to work twelve hours because they are not permitted to make a contract to work less. This law is not an infringement on the laborer's right to make a contract of twelve or fourteen hours, but is simply a protection to his right to make a contract to work ten.

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IN THE LECTURE on "Trust Regulation," published in the *Lecture Bulletin of the Institute of Social Economics*, for October 1st, the suggestion was made that national regulation of the so-called "trusts," along reasonable and conservative lines, might be a feasible proposition without any amendment of the federal constitution. The precedent was cited of our national banking law, which at the time of its passage in 1864 was opposed by its enemies as unconstitutional; while other more recent examples are the interstate commerce law, the Sherman anti-trust law, and the national bankruptcy act. All these are cases where the national authority has been exercised over industrial affairs, in ways not expressly provided for in the constitution.

Attorney General Knox, in his notable speech at Pittsburg on October 13, has now taken advanced ground in the same direction. While not committing himself to the opinion that a national incorporation law for large industrial enterprises would be constitutional, nevertheless he believes that federal action could be much more effective than at present and still keep entirely within constitutional

limits. Portions of the attorney general's argument are reproduced in our department of "Current Comment" this month.

It is altogether likely that public opinion will tend in this direction more and more strongly. In fact, it is not unreasonable to surmise that if congress should enact an outright national incorporation law, open to all concerns doing an interstate business, the supreme court might be inclined to exercise its right of "interpretation" in favor of the constitutionality of the measure. The court has done just this, over and over again, when public necessity has seemed to demand a more liberal reading of the nation's fundamental law.

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*Correction:* In the article on "Conditions Which Affect Beef Prices," by Mr. Henry W. Wilbur, in our October number, the receipts of cattle at Chicago, and at four principal cities in the West, as indicated in the table on page 283 and in certain references on page 284, appear as if applying to one day only,—June 1st,—in the various years mentioned. These figures in each case apply to the entire month of June. The price quotations are for June 1st, but the receipts of cattle are for the entire month.



## THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers to them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

### LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

#### Facts From the Coal Regions

(The following lucid description of conditions as they exist to-day in the bituminous coal region was received in response to a personal inquiry by the editor. The writer is a thoroughly responsible and successful mine owner and manager, whose statements of fact may be accepted as literally accurate.)

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I am in receipt of yours of the 13th, and carefully note contents. The general public is certainly woefully ignorant as to conditions governing the mining of coal. They appear to form a judgment the principal basis of which is violent prejudice against the operators and maudlin sympathy for the miners. The miners and their leaders are shrewd enough to know this, and they work the situation for all it is worth. The fact is, there is no class of laborers that I know of who work so few hours a day, and who are so independent, happy and care free as these self-same miners. On the other hand, viewed from the employers' side, there is no business I know of that is such a heart-breaker as the mining business. The vicissitudes of one kind and another are such as to make it almost impossible to make any plans or calculations that can be depended upon. In the first place, the miners are so uncertain and so irregular in their work that you can rely upon no regular output of coal. At times you cannot get cars;

you lose a day or more quite frequently by some breakdown in your equipment, either inside or outside the mine. You have water to contend with, and other difficulties to surmount. You never know from day to day what nature has in store for you in the way of some unnatural formation, to overcome which may be very expensive. You have to go it blind.

As a rule, the miners need not stop work the days the mine is idle, as they can make coal ready for loading when the mine is running. But the operator always loses on idle days, as he has fixed charges he cannot avoid. His organization has to be kept up, his pumps have to run, generally night and day, and he has many other expenses that go on whether or no. A manufacturer can keep his factory in operation, and stock goods in his warerooms for a time, no matter whether he gets immediate sale for his goods, or cars in which to ship them. The operator must load his coal the day it comes out from the mine, and must have immediate sale for it. If he is out of cars or lacks trade, he is at once obliged to shut down. The railroad company will not provide him with cars for more than one day's run at a time, and unless he ships to-morrow what he loads to-day he gets no cars to-morrow. The margin is altogether too small to enable him to drop the coal on the ground and then shovel into cars afterwards. You will readily see the truth of this when I tell you that the average operator around here thinks himself highly prosperous if he has a profit of 25 cents a ton on coal. There are four mines within five miles of here, and I seriously doubt if, taken as a whole, they have averaged ten cents a ton profit on their entire product during the past two years, which has been an unusually prosperous period. There are some districts, no doubt, where the coal vein is thicker and cost of production consequently less and profits some larger, but millions of tons of bituminous coal are sold every year at less than 25 cents a ton profit, even in the most prosperous years. It is sickening the amount of misinformation that is going the rounds of the press.

Our mine has connection with one railroad only. While there are times when we do not have cars, we are fairly well treated in this respect, much better than they are in some regions. This is not by any means our greatest drawback. We are getting all the cars at present that we can load. The great difficulty, and about the only one, in the way of our prosperity at present is a lack of sufficient miners, and the fact that those we have will not work much more than half time. The only operators who can keep their production to a normal point are those who are able to keep around their mines about one-third more miners than they would need if they would work every day. To show you the straits we are in in this respect, we are now seriously considering the matter of offering a premium to our miners to induce them to work more steadily. We pay the regular scale wages fixed by the union, but we are thinking of offering ten per cent. additional to all miners who will work enough hours up to eight per day, and enough days per month, to earn not less than \$40. It would be an interesting experiment, but I seriously doubt if it would have much effect.

We are not able to accept more than a fraction of the business offered at this time. We are able only to supply regular customers, whom we charge only the nominal price, averaging about \$1.25 per ton. This, under ordinary conditions, is considered a good price for bituminous coal. You understand this is for coal loaded on cars at mine, no freight being added. There are large quantities of bituminous coal being sold at the present time, under contract, at \$1.10 per ton. I am willing to risk my reputation in saying that 90 per cent. of the vast tonnage of bituminous coal mined in the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and West Virginia this year is sold by the operators at a price averaging less than \$1.25 per ton at the mines. I think you are mistaken if you are under the impression that consumers in the East who have been accustomed to using bituminous coal are paying \$8 and \$10 per ton for same at present time. It is undoubtedly true, however, that persons or



concerns who ordinarily use anthracite, and who have been caught short and must have fuel, have been held up by brokers and jobbers. But, to a large extent, the operators have gotten no benefit from this state of things, they being largely under contract to supply regular customers at the normal price. Those who have a surplus not under contract are comparatively few, and very fortunate. An operator is compelled to make yearly contracts, if he would run his mine steadily. You can readily see that, as an ordinary proposition, he could not figure on the phenomenal conditions brought about by the long anthracite strike, and is therefore in poor condition to benefit by it. Whatever "cream" there is in the eastern situation is largely going to the speculators and not the producers.

But there is something to be said for the miners' side in the anthracite strike. I believe they are justified in asking that wages and conditions be fixed in joint conference, at stated periods, the same as is done in the bituminous field. Some of their demands are just, also. For instance, the request that 2,000 pounds shall constitute a ton, instead of 2,240 pounds, or the system of lumping it that is in vogue in some places. In the matter of limiting the hours, I would not make a single concession. They can come out when they wish, as the matter stands now. If you limit the time to eight hours, you cripple the operator in his production by forcing the industrious men who would work nine hours to quit work sooner. It is essential to the successful operation of a mine, under present conditions, that this matter be left open, so that the nine-hour workers make up for the lazy ones who will not work more than five or six hours. Whenever the mine workers' union is in a position to protect the operators by compelling the men to live up to their agreement to work eight hours per day, six days in the week, then I will be in favor of an eight-hour system for mines, but they either will not or cannot enforce this part of their solemn agreement,—a portion that is so vital to the successful working of a mine. This difficulty is universal all over the bituminous fields,

and is undoubtedly the great reason why the anthracite operators are so bitterly fighting the union in their section. The great trouble with the trade unions, and the reason why employers object to doing business with them, is that they are not responsible bodies, and cannot be held legally to their agreements. If they were incorporated, and amenable to the law, the same as other organized bodies, employers would be less loath to deal with them.

One other matter I wish to mention. In your answer to a previous letter, you suggested that the difficulties in the mining regions were caused by the importation of foreigners. It so happens that among our miners there are only three or four continental miners. The balance are English, Irish, Scotch and Welsh, many of them having been born here. Our experience with what so-called "foreigners" we have had is that they are, as a rule, more sober and peaceful, work steadier, are more reasonable and fair, and in every respect more desirable as miners than the English-speaking miners.

G. M.

\_\_\_\_\_, Pa.

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### QUESTION BOX

#### Highways, Railroads, and Public Ownership

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I believe it is generally conceded that the public highways are proper subjects of government control. Is it not a fact that under modern conditions of industry the railroads have become as much public highways and matters of public necessity as the wagon roads were a century ago, perhaps even more so? If so, is it not important that the public should manage them, for the sake of abundant service and equal treatment to all, like the use of streets or water supply, even if the rate of progress in new methods be a little slower? Are not the evils that would thus be overcome much greater than anything we could lose by a little slackening of the rate of improvement in methods, which are already so highly perfected?

L. S. B.

The reason why highways are properly under public

control is not because they are public necessities, but because they do not involve frequent changes of method and investment, and high-class expert administration. Raising wheat and manufacturing clothing and building houses are as necessary as highways, but they are of an entirely different character. Their successful administration requires another kind of ability. They require expert skill, adaptation to frequent changes, and constant alertness, or in other words they are highly dynamic, while highways are almost wholly static in their character. Railroads, though they are a species of highways and imperatively necessary, are more like manufactures than are public roads. It is because they are in a different stage of experiment and complexity of method that they are far from being ready to pass over to government control. The government can do well only such things as are simple, stable and permanent in character. Simplicity and uniformity are the two essentials in successful government control. To the extent that these are lacking inefficiency and failure may be expected.

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### Army Management and Industry Management

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In your recent lecture on "Public Ownership" you cited the army as an illustration of the kind of undertakings the government ought to handle. One of the reasons you gave was that army management requires strict obedience, uniformity of methods, and the entire force acting as one man. Are not these among the precise qualities required to-day in large, successful business enterprises? Uniformity of hours of labor, working conditions, pay for a given amount of work, and strict obedience to the plans and orders of those in charge, are vital, and if the government is so much better in enforcing these conditions in the army, why not also in industry? M. R. G.

There is little or no similarity between the uniformity of the army and navy and that of large business enterprises. To be sure, obedience to superiors is required in all large industries, but the variety of work is infinite. In the army the whole mass is supposed to be without a single thought,



except to move simultaneously with the word of the commander. No such condition or anything approximating it, or even any such tendency towards it, exists in any industrial establishment. On the contrary, there is a constant tendency to change all methods through the use of inventions and improvements, and any workman who introduces these stands a good chance of promotion, whereas in the army it would mean the guardhouse.

Progressive industry is in a state of constant change in any and all departments. There is no censure for an individual worker for suggesting any change or improvement in the work. In the army no such thing is permitted for a moment. The only uniformity that exists in a large corporation is as to hours, wages and general conditions, but there is nothing whatever to produce a uniformity of individual action, which is the main feature of army and navy life.

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### Tendencies Toward Socialism

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Do you not think that the most conspicuous industrial and political tendencies of the time are all towards socialism? The popularity of men like Bryan and Johnson, the growth of public ownership sentiment, the demand now made by a great political party for nationalizing the coal mines, and the convincing evidence afforded by the coal strike that the interests of labor and capital, under the present system, are practically irreconcilable, all seem to indicate an approaching reorganization of society,—whether broader and juster, as the socialists claim, or only the beginning of a national catastrophe, as predicted by Macaulay and Spencer.

M. E. S.

Yes, there are marked tendencies towards socialism, but that is not so alarming as it may at first appear. Nearly all political and industrial reform begins with a strong flavor of socialism. In all such cases the first impulse is to rush to the opposite extreme. If capitalists seem to be oppressive, the prompt remedy is to call in the government. Every great movement during the nineteenth cen-

ture had this characteristic at its beginning. The early movements in England against the factory system received their first chief impulse from the Christian socialism of Kingsley and the socialistic cooperative propaganda of Owen and Fourier, but the nearer we get to converting that social doctrine into political policy the more we shrink from the risk.

Socialism is wonderfully like a mirage,—it is seen best at a distance, and its virtues vanish as we approach. There is really no great danger in socialism if the discussion of industrial and social reform may be permitted freely to proceed. The greatest danger of rash socialistic action comes from injudicious conduct of capitalists. For example, the mine owners in the recent strike have done more to stimulate and crystallize socialistic sentiment into definite conviction than would quarter of a century of socialistic propaganda. They have furnished a vivid object lesson to which the socialists, the populists, the Bryans and the Johnsons can point. Nothing short of such an illustration could have induced the democratic party in New York state to commit itself to the policy of national ownership of mines. The success of socialism does not rest upon advocacy of socialistic doctrine, but upon the rational or irrational policy of the managers of corporate industry.

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### Points About the Referendum

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—We are planning in one of our debates this year to argue the following question: "Resolved, that the legislative referendum should be introduced into our state governments." We would be greatly favored to get your opinion on the following questions:

1st. Could the referendum be introduced without practically abolishing government by constitution?

2nd. Would the referendum if introduced into our state governments augment the intelligence of the mass of voters, or would it give rise to a spirit of indifference to all laws submitted to the referendum?

3rd. Would the referendum in your opinion increase corruption in our state governments?

4th. Would not the laws enacted by the legislature be fought out on party lines by the opposition?

Parkville, Mo. COLLEGIATE DEBATING LEAGUE

1st. The introduction of the referendum would not necessarily abolish government by constitution. All the referendum provides for is that laws passed by the legislature shall be approved by popular vote; and when the initiative is coupled with it, as is usually the case, if the people vote in favor of the legislature taking up some given question, it will have no option but so to do.

2nd. What effect the referendum would have upon the intelligence of the mass of voters is an open question, which nothing but an experiment could determine. The probability is, however, that it would introduce a great deal of confusion into the elections. The referendum is now in use in most of the states for constitutional amendments. When the legislature passes a vote to amend the constitution, it has to be submitted to a direct vote of the people. In that case a separate ballot accompanies the general ballot at the election, and the citizens vote "Yes" or "No" on the amendment. Experience shows, however, that a very large proportion of the voters do not know what the question is they are expected to vote upon. The referendum vote is always very much smaller than the vote for the general ticket, showing that it does not increase public interest in the subject.

3rd. There is no particular reason why the referendum should increase corruption, though it would probably increase confusion, which is very undesirable.

4th. Yes, the laws passed by the legislature and submitted by referendum would be fought out on party lines as now. There is nothing in the mere fact of referendum to change either the constitutional character of party organizations or their activity in politics.

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### Relation of Prices and Prosperity

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—As I understand your theory of progress, it is, that improvement in human welfare comes with the in-



crease of wages along with the cheapening of prices. I would like to ask the question: How is it that in this country, almost without exception, the periods of great prosperity have been periods of higher prices, while low prices have, quite as regularly, been the accompaniment of business depression and disaster?

J. R. H.

There is nothing extraordinary in this state of facts, nor is it at all inconsistent with the theory of progress that human improvement and increased wages come along with lower prices. Rising prices naturally follow a boom of prosperity, because in the exceptional demand for products under boom conditions many business derangements occur, and even extraordinary efforts involving greater expense become necessary. For example, in 1899, when the exceptional demand for iron and steel occurred, new mines had to be opened and old ones worked which had previously been discarded, thus involving a greater cost of production. But the demand warranted the supply and the price had to rise to the level of the increased cost, and perhaps a little above it. This gave increased profits to all the other mines more advantageously situated. It was the first effect of sudden prosperity.

As soon as the production becomes normal, however, the corrective process of competition sets in. The extraordinary is not called for, and the permanently increased demand has usually caused the introduction of many improved processes, either by reorganization or better machinery, or improved facilities for transportation, or some other method of economizing the costs in large production. When the normal adjustment is reached and competition sets in, the benefit of this improvement begins to be transferred to the public by reduction of prices to the lowest practical cost level.

Thus it is that prices are at first pushed up a little with the rush of prosperity, but ultimately they settle down to a lower point than before. That is why, in so many lines of manufacture where extensive machinery and organization are employed, prices are permanently lower, in some instances from 50 to 75 per cent., than they were formerly.

The reason prices are lower in times of business depression is obvious. That is an unwholesome fall of prices, due to the falling off in consumption, and prices drop to avoid greater loss, but low prices from these causes are not of benefit to anybody. They mean ruin to the producer and no real benefit to the public, because they are always accompanied by low wages, enforced idleness and other conditions which render it less possible for the people to buy, even at the low prices. So that, while prices are lower, the people get less and are literally poorer than when prices are comparatively higher, adjusted to the necessary costs of regular economic production, as under conditions of prosperity, full employment and higher wages.

Thus there are two methods of bringing low prices, one by business depression, which means low wages, enforced idleness and general injury to the community; the other by large production and use of superior methods. The lowering of prices by this method is the true economic tendency because it comes with the conditions that give full employment, high wages and generous profits.

## BOOK REVIEWS

THE ANTHRACITE COAL INDUSTRY. By Peter Roberts, Ph.D. With an Introduction by W. G. Sumner, LL.D. Cloth; 261 pages. Price, \$3.00. The Macmillan Company, New York and London.

The coal industry is one of the most difficult to understand, and most difficult of equitable adjustment, of any industry in the country. This is thoroughly illustrated by the controversy through the late strike. There seems to have been a fairness in, or at least some basis for, the position each party took in the conflict. While the operators were clearly obstinate and dictatorial, they made certain statements regarding the impracticability of uniformity of prices and other conditions which seemed to be ignored by the union. The request of the union was for a certain price per ton, and for an equivalent price per day for day hands. The operators denied the feasibility of this, and refused to deal with the union because the nature of the business is such that wages and prices must be adjusted at each colliery, with and for the men of that colliery.

Notwithstanding that the press gave columns every day of so-called information on the subject, the public is literally in the dark regarding the facts pertaining to the case. In the book under consideration, which was written just before the strike controversy began, Mr. Roberts gives these conditions in great detail. The facts here presented throw more light on the situation than all the newspaper articles that have appeared since the controversy first began. The book is not a plea for the miners' union, nor against it; it is not a plea for any standard of wages or hours, but a manifestly careful statement of the facts, inspired by the true scientific spirit. In the chapter on "Employees and Wages," Mr. Roberts throws a flood of light on the conditions which naturally led to the conflict and are sure to lead to more strikes unless an altogether new basis



of treatment is adopted. He does not suggest this, but it is obvious from the nature of things. The marked difference in the conditions of mining at different mines is so great and varied that any given standard of piece-work price seems impossible. In some veins and under some conditions the miner by a few hours work a day can earn from \$75 to \$125 a month, while in other veins and under other conditions, by working ten hours a day, he can scarcely earn \$6 a week.

The character of the miners is an important element in the problem. In many sections these miners are Poles, Little Russians, Hungarians, Magyars, Lithuanians, Slovacks, Bohemians, Italians and Swiss. They are largely brought from Europe under special inducements, in order to secure cheaper labor. The importation of these laborers by the corporations began in 1872-3, but the "flood-tide," as it were, began in 1877, the immediate object having been to defeat the laborers in their demands for increased wages. Some idea of the character of the population in the anthracite coal regions may be gathered from the following statement, on pages 104 and 105:

"There is to-day in the anthracite coal fields a population of nearly 100,000 Slavs. Statistics taken of 150 shafts in 1897, employing 59,823 persons, showed 23,402 native born, 13,521 native citizens and 22,860 aliens. In three shafts in Lackawanna county, over 75 per cent. of the employees are Slavs. Under the Delaware and Hudson Company, 40 per cent. of the mining force is of this class. Under the Reading from 20 to 25 per cent. of the force underground are Slavs. In 1898, out of 294 miners' certificates issued in the fourth district, 183, or 62.24 per cent., were given to this class of laborers. In stripping mining in the fifth district, not a single English-speaking employee, except the foreman, is engaged. In three shafts in Schuylkill county, operated by individuals, the force underground was over 70 per cent. Slav. If we leave out the breaker boys, who form about 13 per cent. of the anthracite employees, and count only laborers over 16 years of age, from 25 to 30 per cent. of the employees in the anthracite coal fields are Slavs, or between 30,000 and 35,000 in all. They are not uniformly distributed. In the Lykens and Panther creek valleys very few are to be found, while in Shenandoah and Nanticoke they are largely in the majority. Scores of collieries to-day cannot work when the Slavs

observe a religious holiday. Anthracite mining cannot at present get along without the Sclav."

According to Mr. Roberts, there has been no appreciable reduction in wages, but the real income of the laborers has been lessened by bearing down the different kinds of allowances for various kinds of exceptional work, such as opening chambers, the use of powder, and other things. Of this he gives extended examples. On page 116 he says:

"Operators say that prices have been uniform for the last 20 years. This is true as far as the price paid for the car of coal is concerned, but it is not true of the allowances given the miner for accessory work in mining; and when the tributaries are cut off, the stream perceptibly diminishes. The price per car was left intact, but foremen in almost every locality in the coal fields cut down prices for work the miner must do in order to carry on the work of mining. One man who brought upon himself the wrath of the workmen, which well-nigh cost him his life, did the following: 75 cents a slab was paid for manway, he took it off; 50 cents a yard was paid for a stratum of slate which came down with the coal, he took that off; \$7.84 was paid for opening chambers, he told the men they must open them for nothing; laborers who got \$2.00 a day were cut down to \$1.93; and this man did a very unusual thing, he cut the foreman's wages from \$100 a month to \$75. There was a strike last summer on the Hazelton mountain because an allowance of \$2.64 paid the men for opening chutes was taken off. Under another company \$1.50 was paid for standing a set of timber; this is reduced to 50 cents. In a shaft 75 cents was paid for standing props; now it is 50 cents, and double timber is reduced from \$2.50 to \$1.90. In another shaft the allowance for standing timber was reduced from \$1.50 to 60 cents. Companies were wont to grant allowances for water coming into the chamber; to-day this is not given in many collieries. Allowance was given for sulphur streaks which appear in the coal, making it much harder to blast it and increasing the wear and tear of the tools; it is not given to-day. An allowance of 50 cents a yard was given to miners who had to use safety lamps; to-day such a thing is not known."

The data presented on this phase of the subject gives a different aspect to the whole question. In truth, the nominal wages of the miners seem to have no appreciable relation to the real wages. So numerous and variable are the items of incidental expense that even the average gives no

correct idea. For instance, Mr. Roberts gives a table showing the steady increase of powder required to mine a ton of coal. In the Upper Lehigh, in 1871, one keg of powder sufficed to mine 102 tons of coal. In Lackawanna, in 1895, a keg only sufficed to mine 30 tons. So about three times as much powder is required now as thirty years ago.

The irregular employment is another feature here brought out. The following table for the number of days worked per month, in 1899, shows that the average for the year was a little over half; in February it was 12 3-4 days, and in October (the highest) 20 1-4. This table will give some idea of the difference between the real and nominal wages:

Class of Work	Theoretic or Nominal Wage per Week	Actual or Real Wage per Week	Percentage of Nominal Wage
Miners on contract.....	\$16.28	\$8.84	54.30
Miners on wages.....	12.00	7.00	58.33
Laborers inside.....	10.68	6.14	57.49
Laborers outside.....	8.40	4.91	58.45
Boys .....	3.90	2.07	53.07
Drivers and runners.....	8.58	5.32	62.00
Firemen .....	9.48	5.73	60.44
Engineers .....	11.28	8.84	78.36
Blacksmiths .....	11.46	7.16	62.48
Slate-pickers (men).....	9.30	5.60	60.21
Slate-pickers (boys).....	3.90	1.70	56.66

In this work Mr. Roberts has really made an important contribution to the discussion of the coal industry. He attempts to give no solution of the difficulty; he presents no scheme for industrial harmony, or equitable adjustment of the difficulties; but he does present a large volume of carefully prepared data which cannot safely be ignored by any student of the subject. The more one becomes acquainted with the nature of the industry, the character of the laborers, and the multitude of methods adopted to take advantage, each of the other, the clearer it becomes that a new basis of agreement and relations between miners and operators will be necessary before permanent, peaceful conditions can be established.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE MEN OF HIS TIME. Robert H. Browne, M. D. In two volumes. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye. New York: Eaton & Mains.

When Miss Tarbell's "Early Life of Abraham Lincoln," was published it seemed as though, with all which had been published before, her book gave us all we were likely to get about Lincoln, up to the time when he went to Washington. But we were mistaken. A work in two volumes, of nearly 1300 12mo. pages, has been published, which makes invaluable additions to our stock of information.

The question of course arises: Who is Robert H. Browne, M. D., that he should be able to tell us anything about Abraham Lincoln, especially at this late day? In the last month of 1829 a young Scotchman, Nimmo Browne, canny and deft of hand, came to New York city. Eleven years later, having lost his all in the failure of a bank, he went to St. Louis. "He was an active, energetic man of business; . . . a man of skill, an engineer, an artist of no mean pretension; and an educated man and scholar," He was "a builder of cupolas, columns and façades," and so had work to do on buildings in St. Louis, and before long in Springfield, Ill. Thus he came to make the acquaintance of Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln, and to become the intimate chosen friend of both.

When Nimmo Browne went over the Alleghenies in 1840 he took with him a wife and two children, one a lad of five years, who has become the author of the volumes we are considering. In this family both Lincoln and Douglas were intimate, Douglas the more so because he was of Scotch origin. Both unbosomed themselves there without reserve. As the boy grew up to manhood he entered more and more into this intimacy, though so much younger, and shared in the confidences involved. Hence it has come that he has given the inside view of Mr. Lincoln's life as no other person has.

Take chapter xxxiv, in Vol. II, as the most striking case in point. In it the writer seems to have set wide open

the front door of Abraham Lincoln's heart. In the middle of the night at a railway station Mr. Lincoln took young Browne by the arm: "Saying, 'Come, Robert, now for our hotel and a roost,' . . . and he almost lifted me from the ground in his strong, firm grasp, that filled me with a sense of the wonderful energy of the man." At the hotel they were given "two little boxes of rooms facing each other on either side of a narrow hall," and there they talked for two hours. I quote from Browne's record:

"Although we were alone, with no help to raise his spirit, or lighten it up, like the presence of a crowd, I never heard stronger or more pathetic appeals for the liberties of men nor sympathetic outbursts of hopeful expectation that our land and its free institutions might be saved, that the union, at once God's promise and fulfillment of free government on the earth, might be preserved. . . . To me he opened his great heart as he appeared and stood, the anointed of God, as much in mind as I had Moses, David, Cromwell, or Washington."

After much talk, which led up to the words, Mr. Lincoln said:

"'But do you believe that a plain, common man, as I am, of the back-river, if not backwoods country, is or can be what you so ardently wish I should be, a real leader of the people? You surely do not believe that I am a great man, but rather that I am an earnest and sincere one.'

"I looked directly into his soul-expressive face, and the words of my reply seemed to come to me without thought as I said: 'I do not know whether you are a great man or not; but I do know that you have the strongest power over men—whether a houseful or a streetful, or over me here alone—in effect and speech of any one I ever saw.'"

After much further talk, Mr. Lincoln said:

"I am a full believer that God knows what He wants men to do,—that which pleases Him. It is never well with the man who heeds it not. I talk to God. My mind seems relieved when I do, and a way is suggested, that if it is not a supernatural one, it is always one that comes at the time, and accords with a common-sense view of the work. . . .

"I catch the fire of my cause, the spirit, the inspiration. I see it reflected in the open faces and throbbing hearts before me. This impulse comes and goes, and again returns, and seems to take possession of me. The influence, whatever it is, has taken effect. It is contagious; the people fall into the stream and follow me in the inspira-

tion. This seems evidence to me, a weak man, that God Himself is leading my way.' "

These are tidbits out of this remarkable chapter, which gives an opening into the innermost life of Mr. Lincoln such as nothing else I know has done; which makes it fit to say of him that he was a true man of God, consciously and deliberately, and which helps to explain his Gettysburg speech and second inaugural.

But the author has done more for Stephen A. Douglas than for Mr. Lincoln. It is not too much to say that he shows Mr. Douglas to have been a true patriot and statesman-politician, who renounced the presidency to save the union. The story which Mr. Browne tells in chapters xxi-ii, Vol I, of how Mr. Douglas accepted the requirement of the slaveocracy to introduce the amendment to the Kansas-Nebraska bill to repeal the Missouri compromise, in order that he might so shape the repeal as to defeat its purpose, and did do it, is most interesting and important. Evidently there was from the North in congress no other so large-patterned and far-seeing statesman as he; and while he used the methods of the politician he was ever faithful to the union, ever bent on defeating the slave oligarchy, and was successful. It is the literal truth that the course of Mr. Douglas as here disclosed by Dr. Browne saved Kansas to freedom, and was essential to saving the union. And the writer is the more eager to say this because, in those days, he was one of the vast multitude in the North who believed that Mr. Douglas was sacrificing freedom to his personal advancement, when it is now evident that he was right in the breach, the foremost warrior in the thickest of the fray, maintaining the union, and doing that which made it finally sure that freedom should become universal, and our nation not be half slave. In this view it has never been our lot to read a book which throws so much light on those times.

A word as to the style in which the book is written. It is literally a mine, just gold and ore and rock all mixed in. It has not the flavor of literature. In style it is cum-



bersome, awkward, repetitious. It seems the work of a man who had never written for publication one page in his life. So one must read it, mining out the gold for one's self—but it is the genuine gold that is there.

It is a work indispensable to the history of the period, and to the lives of Lincoln and Douglas. It ought to be in every public library, at least of cities and institutions of learning, and be read by every intelligent person without regard to the style in which the subject-matter is expressed. Not even Herndon, Lincoln's partner for twenty years, has given nearly so much of the interior heart life of the preserver of his country as this youthful companion has done; and history will ever be his debtor.

[Rev.] JESSE H. JONES.

Halifax, Mass.

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A HISTORY OF ENGLISH UTILITARIANISM. By Ernest Albee, Ph.D. Cloth, 427 pp. \$2.75. The Macmillan Company, New York.

England has been essentially the country of practical thinking and doing. It seems never to have been the real forte of the Englishman to do much dreaming. In business, politics, and even in religion, he has been intensely practical. When the doctrines of the church seemed to thwart the practical affairs of state or industry, they were modified to fit. When it became inconvenient that the idea of ecclesiastical authority in secular matters should take precedence over temporal, the church was radically reformed and effectively subordinated to the state.

England may not have been irreligious, but she has never failed in that hard, practical quality of not letting her religion seriously interfere with her worldly welfare. So, while remaining a Christian nation, she made her church a political establishment. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the sphere of ethics and philosophy England should be the home of utilitarianism. Indeed, that is to a large extent the characteristic of the English mind in all spheres of activity. In economics, its theory of competition and ex-

treme individualism have had a utilitarian basis. Much of England's economic theory and public policy have been influenced by this tendency to regard ethical conduct from the standpoint of utilitarianism.

In the 18th century, the utilitarian theory, like everything else, was narrow. It was based on the idea that all human efforts arise from the desire to increase pleasure or avoid pain, and that this desire arose from and was limited to the pleasurable or painful sensations of the individual. In other words, a man desires a certain object because it will give him pleasurable experience, and avoids it because it will give him painful experience, and this is the basis of all estimate of right or wrong, good or bad. That which is right or good in its nature tends to increase happiness, and that which is wrong or bad tends to increase pain or unhappiness. There is a large grain of truth in this, but the tendency to confine it to the painful and pleasurable experience within one's self narrows it to the point of being brutally selfish. Such utilitarianism seemed to lend itself to the narrow egotism and selfishness which had no room for the "golden rule," or in which altruism seemed to have no natural play.

This narrowness reflected itself in the early economic doctrine which expressed itself in the wage fund theory, for instance; affirming that wages depend upon the number of laborers, rising as the number falls and falling as the number rises. The practical effect of this was to say to the laborer: If you want more wages, some of you must die or migrate, or otherwise make yourself missing. The practical interpretation of this theory was that a pestilence, panic or war, which reduced the number of laborers, was the most efficient way to raise wages.

The utility theory, and likewise this quantity theory of wages, have undergone a remarkable expansion and transformation; not so much a reversal as expansion. Not that the original doctrine of utility as the basis of ethical conduct was wrong, but the interpretation of utility was too narrow. It gradually dawned upon unhampered students

and philosophers like Sidgwick and Mill that, as Sidgwick puts it: "Our conscious active impulses are so far from being always directed towards the attainment of pleasure or avoidance of pain for ourselves, that we can find everywhere in consciousness, extra-regarding impulses, directed towards something that is not pleasure, nor relief from pain; and, indeed, a most important part of our pleasure depends upon the existence of such impulses."

This is what is called altruism, to desire the benefit of others, not against self, but in addition to self. Yet, upon critical examination, this very altruistic feeling or impulse has almost an egoistic or self foundation. This really depends upon the extent of the ego. When the world of the individual is so small that he includes only himself, he finds pleasure only in things that directly contribute to the personal pleasure of self, but when his world is larger and includes others, and large enough to include all others, then his pleasure and his pain are no longer limited to things that only affect himself, but extend to things that affect other people. Thus the pain of others becomes his own, and he receives pleasure in knowing that others are happy. Then altruism becomes the source of a desire which seems, as Sidgwick says, directed towards something that is not pleasure or relief from pain for one's self.

Yet, in the last analysis, it is the benefit that is done to the other that brings pleasure to self, and that because in the broader development of interest and character the welfare of others becomes of identical interest with the welfare of ourselves. This is no less essentially utilitarian than is the act of the cannibal who eats his neighbor for breakfast. The only real difference is that the pleasurable experience, hence the impulse to action and the standard of conduct, has broadened so as to include the welfare of others as a part of our own happiness.

This leads to an entirely new type of conduct. It erects a broader standard of justice and morality. Anything and everything that tends to promote the welfare of any human being becomes a part of our personal happiness,



and is an element in the utility of our immediate conduct. It shows that our industrial policy, our political policy, our personal conduct, are right or wrong, moral or immoral, in proportion as they contribute to the ultimate welfare of all. It does not set up a utility standard of right and wrong in the concrete. To do so would be unphilosophical and unscientific, because the influence of individual conduct and collective policy depends very largely upon existing conditions. At one time it may in the very broadest sense be moral, because helpful to human welfare, to engage in war. Yet no one can doubt that the time is fast coming when war will be only immoral because it will do naught but retard human welfare.

Nothing better shows the broadening effect upon the human mind of the industrial development of the last century than the history of the doctrine of utilitarianism in England. It has put a new complexion on moral standards of economic duty and responsibility, political justice and human rights. It has transformed, in fact, the ethical interpretation of human relations.

The present work is a complete and well-nigh invaluable contribution to the literature of ethical philosophy. It supplies what was so greatly needed,—a conservative, impartial, historic representation of utilitarianism.

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THE AMERICAN FEDERAL STATE. A Text Book in Civics for High Schools and Academies. By Roscoe Louis Ashley, A. M. The Macmillan Company, New York and London. 599 pages; cloth, gilt top.

This is one of the best books of its kind that has been published in years. Its scope is much wider than its title would indicate. It is admirably adapted for high school and academic students. The style is lucid and direct, everything of importance connected with the civil and political institutions of the country being mentioned in concise, brief and intelligible form. It abounds in marginal notes, which aid the reader by references to other parts of the book and to other books.

It is really a history as well as an explanation of our civil and political institutions. It throws a clear light on all the great questions that have agitated the country from its formation. Besides explaining the actual status of the institutions, like the United States senate, house of representatives, etc., the author briefly gives an account of the discussion of the reasons urged for and against the adoption of the particular forms that prevailed. Not the least attractive feature of the book is its copious, analytical contents, and an elaborate, well-arranged index; also, extensive references to other authors at the opening of each chapter.

While the book is prepared especially for high schools and academic students, it would serve equally well for a handbook for individual reference. Its style and arrangement makes it an excellent book for civil and political historic study by the individual student without instruction or classroom aid.

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#### NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

*Government and the State.* By Frederic Wood. Price, \$2.50. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

*The Loyalists in the American Revolution.* By Claude Halstead Van Tyne. Ph.D. Cloth. The Macmillan Company, New York and London.

*English Thought in the Eighteenth Century.* By Leslie Stephen. 2 vols., 246-469 pages. Price, \$8.00. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

*The Life of William Ewart Gladstone.* By the Rt. Hon. John Morley, M.P., D.C.L., LL.D. Cloth; 3 vols. The Macmillan Company, New York and London.

*The Economic Interpretation of History.* By Edwin R. A. Seligman, Ph.D., Columbia University. Cloth, 166 pages; price, \$1.50. The Macmillan Company, New York and London.

*A Short History of Germany.* By Ernest F. Henderson, A. B. (Trinity), M. A. (Harvard), Ph.D. (Berlin). 2 vols.; cloth. Price, \$4.00. The Macmillan Company, New York and London.

## CURRENT COMMENT

### Settlement of the Coal Strike

"The coal companies realize that the urgent public need of coal and the apprehension of an inadequate supply for the approaching winter call for an earnest effort to reach a practical conclusion which will result in an increased supply, and the presidents of the companies desire to make effort to that end which does not involve the abandonment of the interests committed to their care and of the men who are working and seeking to work in their mines. This responsibility they must bear and meet as best they can.

"They therefore restate their position: That they are not discriminating against the United Mine Workers, but they insist that the miners' union shall not discriminate against or refuse to work with non-union men; that there shall be no restriction or deterioration in quantity or quality of work, and that, owing to the varying physical conditions of the anthracite mines, each colliery is a problem by itself.

"We suggest a commission to be appointed by the president of the United States (if he is willing to perform that public service), to whom shall be referred all questions at issue between the respective companies and their own employees, whether they belong to a union or not, and the decision of that commission shall be accepted by us. . . .

"It being the understanding that immediately upon the constitution of such commission, in order that idleness and non-production may cease instantly, the miners will return to work and cease all interference with and persecution of any non-union men who are working or shall hereafter work. The findings of this commission shall fix the date when the same shall be effective, and shall govern the conditions of employment between the respective companies and their employees for a term of at least three years."—*From statement of the operators to the public, conveyed to President Roosevelt by J. P. Morgan, and published Oct. 14.*

"We feel grateful to you, Mr. President, for the pa-



triotic efforts which you have made to bring about an honorable settlement of the strike; efforts which you continued, despite the remarkable spirit and conduct which you at first found in the company managers. We were in a position to sympathize with you, inasmuch as we had long been forced to endure arrogance, insult and false witness from the same source. Our gratitude is due to you and to the American people and the press, who have supported you and us in the long struggle which we hope is now about to close. During all these long months in which our motives have been impugned and our characters maliciously assailed we have refrained from saying any word or taking any action which would tend to render reconciliation more difficult; but now it becomes a duty to defend ourselves against the slanders which have been heaped upon us and to proclaim that we have from the first favored practically the method which is now employed to break the deadlock."—*From reply of President John Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers, to President Roosevelt's notification of the operators' proposal.*

"The real triumph and success of this settlement rests with the American people. Public opinion has conquered. The needs of millions have forced action. Where each party possessed legal power which each had the lawful right to push to an extreme, the consciousness of public rights and demands, which are more powerful than the claims of labor or mere corporate and property rights, have forced concession and compromise from men who would have yielded to nothing else. The empty coal scuttle has been a more weighty plea for adjustment than even the president of the United States or the press of the land."—*Philadelphia "Press."*

"Thus ends one of the stiffest industrial fights ever waged. It has been marked by mistakes which are pardonable and by many crimes which cannot be excused. As the controversy peacefully passes into the control of the president's commission it is desirable to drop all unnecessary resentments and quietly await the settlement of the

questions at issue, but it is not the part of good citizenship to forget or slur over the systematic lawlessness which prevailed for months in the mining region. . . . No one questions the rectitude of the commission's purposes, and if its wisdom equals its sincerity it may succeed in devising a settlement which those immediately concerned will unite to make permanent. In the meantime it is not indecorous to say that acceptance by the union of full legal responsibilities through incorporation would seem to be an essential condition of future tranquillity."—*New York Tribune*."

"No more cruel punishment could be inflicted upon the operators now than to reprint the long list of foolish prophecies and of utterly mistaken statements which have come from their lips during these last five months. Even their demand for more troops as the one thing necessary to end the strike was shown to have been largely mistaken. Had the operators not made their appeal for a commission, and still more troops been sent in, it is altogether likely that the strikers could have held out for months to come, or at least could have kept the output of coal down to the minimum. All this is, of course, quite aside from the just and vital demand of the operators and of all reflective men that the right of a non-union man to work, and to work unharmed, be upheld at all hazards. Allowing for all the strong points on their side, it is none the less true that their whole case has been mismanaged in a way that might easily lead indignant stockholders to demand new men and a new policy in the future management of the coal roads."—*New York "Evening Post"*.

"The right of labor organizations to exist has received a new and national recognition. . . . The remedy for the evils that attend labor unions is to be found, not in the disorganization of labor, but in its more perfect and orderly organization. This appears to us absolutely demonstrated by the contrasting history of the bituminous and the anthracite coal regions. Employers of labor should seek, not to disrupt and disorganize labor unions, but to secure their better organization. By fighting them they increase the

power of the belligerent and the demagogical leaders, for in time of war the belligerents and the demagogues always come to the front. By cooperating with them they increase the power of the conservative and the constructive leaders, for in time of peace constructionists always come to the front. This lesson is writ large in the history of the past few months. Whether the mine operators have yet learned to read such writing we do not know, but it is very legible to the general public."—*The Outlook*."

**The President's  
Successful  
Mediation**

"Without doubt the person whom the inhabitants of those parts of this country which depend upon anthracite coal have mainly to thank for 'a happy issue out of all their afflictions' is the president of the United States. He took a grave risk when he originally invited a conference between the representatives of labor and capital whose differences had resulted in an industrial crisis and a general apprehension of wide distress. . . . The event has justified him. His intervention, in spite of the preliminary failure, has been crowned with a success that not only argued a deal of skillful negotiation on the part of somebody, but also attested the respect in which the president's own character for fairness and impartiality was held by both contending and excited factions."—*New York Times*."

"No rash, hasty, or impulsive man could have won such a victory by such means. Only a cautious, patient, conservative, steadfast man—a man great enough to ignore every provocation—a man strong enough to refrain from using his strength—could have won such a victory.

"And by that victory Theodore Roosevelt has approved himself not only courageous but cautious, not only resolute but patient, not only fearless but devoted to his people's weal, as strong in endurance as in action—a great president."—*Chicago "Inter-Ocean"*."

"The president says that there are three parties concerned in the coal situation, the United Mine Workers, the operators, and the public. Has the president reflected



upon the significance of this utterance? . . . The president denies any consideration to the non-union laborers, to the men who want to go to work; yet under the constitution there is no more sacred right guaranteed to a free people than the right of contract, the right of the free man to sell his labor as he pleases. The president can not afford to ignore that. It is of the very essence of the article of liberty. Whither, then, is the president drifting? Does he not see his danger, the danger of the whole country?"—*New York "Sun."*

"The president's course prolongs the complications; implies the inability of the combined state and federal forces to deal with the elements of disorder attached to the strike; so far magnifies before the public eye the importance and power of the unions; casts an unwarrantable stigma upon the position and rights of the operators, and adds a trades-union issue to the many unwelcome politico-economic questions of the hour. It is all petty fussiness, and something more serious. Worse by far than any possible strike is Mr. Roosevelt's seemingly uncontrollable penchant for impulsive self-intrusion."—*New York "Journal of Commerce," before the settlement.*

"The president has rendered a valuable public service in bringing the coal operators and the miners together in an agreement which secures to the public the supply of fuel, of which it is already in pressing need, and to the recently contending parties ample justice and the full protection of every interest. . . . The advisability of the chief executive taking any part whatever in such disputes is open to serious question. Nevertheless he has induced the contending parties to arbitrate their differences, and for this he is entitled to most generous recognition of his disinterested public spirit and the firmness and tact with which he applied a pressure to both sides, to which both yielded."—*New York "Journal of Commerce," after the settlement.*

"The result is a great personal triumph for President Roosevelt. He had no 'sure thing' before him when he undertook the settlement of this strike. There was grave risk

of failure and of some loss of prestige by reason of the failure, and for a time it looked as though the president's efforts to avert the calamity of a coal famine were destined to be fruitless. President Roosevelt is not easily defeated, however. He refused to let go, and in the end brought both parties to the acceptance of arbitration and ended one of the most protracted, distressing and dangerous strikes in our history."—*Philadelphia "Press."*

"We cannot commend too highly the fearless discretion of the president that has enabled him to differentiate between what he could do through his occupation of a high office and what he had no authority to do as president of the United States. He dared to incur misrepresentation as a public man but he was careful not to place the authority and dignity of his office where they could be flouted by either party to the dispute."—*"Chicago Record-Herald."*

"The attitude taken by President Roosevelt in endeavoring amicably to end the strike cannot be too highly commended. It was a notable opportunity, and, in spite of its failure, revealed characteristics of the executive of this country which will be thoroughly appreciated by the American people."—*Cardinal Gibbons, in "The Independent."*

"This happy result has been brought about by a man who, placed in supreme power, believes the authority of the state in matters of fundamental importance to society overrides all private or sectional considerations. When the head of the state enters into a trade dispute, which is causing national distress, and in the name of the state sets the machinery of peace in motion, he is doing not a revolutionary thing but an elementary duty. But it is an elementary duty which conflicts with the doctrines of those who hold that property, not the commonwealth, is the supreme factor in the state, as we have in England to-day."—*London "Daily News."*

"Tirelessly, resolutely, President Roosevelt has labored and the end most gloriously crowns the work. After all due credit is given the president's able coadjutors in his official family; after full acknowledgment of Mr. Mitch-

ell's readiness to accept a commission, to President Roosevelt must be accorded the honor of setting the machinery in motion that has made an adjustment of the points of difference probable and the resumption of work at the mines a certainty."—*Minneapolis "Times."*

"For this immense relief the country will justly render thanks and praise to the president. Unselfishly disregarding a possible loss of personal prestige, he undertook the supremely difficult task of persuading determined antagonists to submit their controversy to arbitration in the interest of the whole people. It will be agreeable to all right-minded citizens to feel that a disinterested effort has resulted not in lowering, but in raising, the public estimate of Mr. Roosevelt."—*"New York Tribune."*

**Government Ownership of Coal Mines** (The plank in the New York state democratic platform, demanding government ownership of the coal mines, is reproduced in the article "First Fruits of the Coal Strike," in this number.)

"Must these disturbances be ever recurring—must there always exist this fierce and apparently irrepressible conflict over the production of a public necessity, and can there not be found some substantial and permanent solution of this problem alike satisfactory to the employers and the employed, and, above all, to the millions of innocent people whose vital interests are directly affected?

"The democracy of New York, in convention assembled, have ventured to suggest such a solution, which is contained in its proposition for the acquirement by the general government through the right of eminent domain after just compensation secured to private owners, of the ownership and operation of the anthracite coal mines in the interest of the whole people. The proposition is neither startling, revolutionary, socialistic, nor paternal, but is constitutional, necessary, expedient, and, above all, it is right. It is simply a reasonable and necessary extension of the general policy of public ownership already largely pre-



vailing in the municipalities of the country."—*Ex-Senator David B. Hill, Brooklyn speech, Oct. 11.*

"In respect to the suggestion in the democratic platform that federal ownership of the anthracite coal mines may be found necessary in the public interest, I must be entirely frank. My view of all such questions is that, before the government is called upon to assume the responsibilities of ownership, the power of regulation should first of all be honestly and thoroughly tested. I furthermore believe that state regulation and control of corporations of its own creation should, whenever possible, be preferred to the concentration of such power in the hands of the federal government."—*Bird S. Coler, in accepting democratic nomination for governor of New York, Oct. 15.*

"The same platform that declares in favor of federal invasion of Pennsylvania and the appropriation of its coal mines announces that the democratic party stands for Jeffersonian principles. There is no Jeffersonian principle of government that is not outraged by the proposal that the federal government shall take possession of the coal mines of Pennsylvania. It would be an invasion of state sovereignty and private property that is at war with the fundamental principles of the constitution. The coal plank of the New York democratic platform is socialism and revolution."—*Philadelphia "Press."*

"The plank advocating 'the national ownership and operation of the anthracite coal mines' is an inconsiderate and hasty utterance, reflecting the just public indignation at the national menace of a coal famine. The crisis, though acute and alarming at the moment, must be a transitory one, and does not warrant the invocation of so radical and revolutionary a remedy as state socialism. Under present conditions government ownership of mines and railroads would mean an enormous enlargement of boss control in politics, and the aggravation of all the public evils and dangers that go therewith."—*New York "World."*

"A convention cannot rise above its source. Ex-Governor Hill was in full control, and his characteristic talent

for intrigue, for low cunning, for shifts and turns, together with his inveterate inability to measure or to satisfy the best opinion of his party or the public, was stamped upon all the proceedings. It is one thing to be able to rig a caucus, manipulate a primary, build up a machine, pack a convention, or steal a state senate, but quite another thing to take a broad and statesmanlike view of the needs of the party or the nation. David B. Hill can do the former to perfection; for the latter, he has never given a sign that he has either aptitude or liking. The democratic opportunity was great this year. A large man might have seized it, but a small man like Hill could only fumble with it and lose it, as he has done."—*New York "Evening Post."*

"Were the general government to propose to take control of the mines, who would suppose that the miners would look upon the scheme with favor? Why should they? The government is sovereign. It can not only fix the prices that it will pay for work done, but it allows no argument. It entertains no scale committees, while many corporations do. It permits no interference with its wishes, and the man who interferes is guilty of a crime against the highest power of the land. . . . It enforces its orders with troops from the United States army."—*"Pittsburg Times."*

"Whatever one may think of the merits of these great issues, or of Mr. Hill's personal sincerity, all will agree that when a public man of his antecedents, associations and ambition delivers a speech like that of Saturday night in Brooklyn, there is a prodigious ferment of the public mind going on in this country, from which results of far reaching importance may ultimately ensue, as events in their majesty may determine."—*"Springfield [Mass.] Republican."*

"It having been proved in every attempt that has been made that any sort of product manufactured by or through the federal government costs double or more than double what the same product costs any private employer, it is now proposed by the New York democrats that this double-cost method shall be applied to the production of anthracite

coal. What the American people want is some method of producing coal that will halve the cost—not increase it.”—*“Hartford [Conn.] Times.”*

“No devotee of organized labor who realizes what government ownership would mean to the unions can fail to see in it a menace to that domination of the labor market which they have sought to gain. . . . The government has forbidden postal clerks to make organized attempts to promote legislation in their own favor which their department chiefs do not approve. It forbids army and navy officers to engage in politics. There is a growing tendency to break up all organizations of civil servants designed to enforce demands upon the administrative departments, prevent all self-interested agitation by government employees and confine their efforts for betterment to humble requests to their superiors. In some departments even securing a request for promotion from outside is considered insubordinate. . . . If the mines were controlled by the government and a strike came there would be no arbitration, there would be no parleying, with attempts to cripple the collieries and force terms. The whole power of the nation would be used to carry on the government business and crush the man or organization trying to block it.”—*“New York Tribune.”*

“Trusts” and  
Tariff  
Revision

“I am not now considering whether or not, on grounds totally unconnected with the trusts, it would be well to lower the duties on various schedules, either by direct legislation or by legislation or treaties designed to secure as an effect reciprocal advantages from the nations with which we trade. My point is that changes in the tariff would have little appreciable effect on the trusts save as they shared in the general harm or good proceeding from such changes. No tariff change would help one of our smaller corporations or one of our private individuals in business, still less one of our wage workers, as against a large corporation in the same business; on the contrary, if it bore heavily on the large corporation, it



would inevitably be felt still more by that corporation's weaker rivals, while any injurious result would of necessity be shared by both the employer and employed in the business concerned."—*President Roosevelt, at Cincinnati, Sept. 20.*

"The democratic proposition to put all trust made articles on the free list would be the worst blow that could be struck at labor in this country. It is not a question of who manufactures articles for export, whether an individual or a combination of individuals, but the question is the comparative cost of the manufacture of such articles in this country with the cost of similar articles in foreign countries. In this question the wages of labor is the all important factor. The democratic idea, if enacted into law, would mean the closing of factories, followed by idleness very like the conditions that existed under the Wilson tariff law."—*Chairman J. W. Babcock, of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, in "New York Tribune."*

"The republican party, which has stood out against any modification of the tariff, has been in a Bourbon attitude in so doing. Events have at last been too strong for it. The experience of the people has overcome the purposes of its leaders. A stage has been reached where the uprising of a republican to say that tariff reform is needed meets instant response from the rank and file of his party. The evidence of this has been some time seen in the West. The experience we have now had in Boston shows that the movement has spread into this locality."—*"Boston Herald."*

"The problems of trust regulation and of tariff revision have no vital or necessary relation. Each should be settled on its own merits. To involve the two in one complicated legislative experiment would only operate to delay that rational and practical treatment through which alone each problem will ultimately be solved."—*"New York Tribune."*

"To begin any general tariff revision at this time would unsettle all lines of business and check, if not seriously impair, the great and general prosperity with which we are

blessed. Every line of trade would fear that it might be hit before the revision was ended and enterprise would simply halt until the result was certain. . . . It would be wise for those inclined to look with favor upon this agitation for general revision also to remember 1893 and agree with the president to let well enough alone."—*"Chicago Inter-Ocean."*

"Competition is as active to-day in this country as ever it was. No trust has a monopoly of its products unless protected by patents. Even the anthracite coal trust, which affords opportunity for the nearest approach possible to monopoly, has its power of extortion checked by the competition of bituminous coal and of oil, and should the present contest be protracted until plants for using other fuel are generally installed it would be ruined and fall to pieces. At any rate, the absurdity of free trade as a 'remedy' for extortion by that particular trust is apparent."—*"San Francisco Chronicle."*

"The exclusion of foreign competition facilitates the control and the measurable suppression of domestic competition, but the protective system is not the only, or the necessary, cause of industrial combinations and attempted monopolies. Furthermore, every article that is produced by a trust is also produced by outside parties, some of them of comparatively small capital, and it is impracticable to remove protection from the combinations it is desired to regulate without removing it from their independent competitors. Besides, price is not the only element involved in the trust question, but it is the only point at which a reduction of duties would touch it. The revision of the tariff, whenever it comes, must be to relieve our own consumers and to open the way for a larger export trade, but not to punish trusts. While this process might be resorted to wisely enough in some particular cases, it could not be of universal effectiveness."—*New York "Journal of Commerce" (free trade).*

"The republicans of the Northwest have witnessed with deep concern and indignation the failure of the senate

finance committee to favorably report a single one of the several reciprocity treaties with foreign countries. The main purpose of their demand for tariff revision is to force the adoption of a broad and liberal reciprocity policy. And there will be no demand for tariff revision if the duties no longer needed for purposes of protection were utilized to obtain trade concessions from other countries, and thus extend our markets for our rapidly accumulating surplus."—*St. Paul "Pioneer-Press."*

"The republican party will not allow its tariff policy to be abused by its beneficiaries. Its general policy will be to modify duties as they become superfluous and maintain only such as are required to secure the avowed purposes of a protective tariff, to-wit, the development of our natural resources and the maintenance of the American wage level. There is no occasion to look to the enemies of protection for any reasonable adjustment of the tariff to suit the new conditions that may arise. The republican party will make the necessary changes and do it without throwing labor out of employment or disturbing business in any appreciable degree."—*Des Moines "Register and Leader."*

**Is National "Trust" Control Constitutional?** "If it be true that a state can authorize or permit a monopoly of production within its borders because it has the power over production as such, although it indirectly affects interstate commerce, may not the United States regulate interstate commerce over which it has exclusive control, even though it indirectly affects production, over which as such, it has no control?"

"If congress under its power to regulate interstate commerce may utterly destroy a combination and forfeit its property in interstate transit, as the Sherman act provides, because it restrains such commerce, it seems reasonable to say that it can in the exercise of the same power deny to a combination whose life it cannot reach the privilege of engaging in interstate commerce except upon such terms as congress may prescribe to protect that commerce from restraint. . . ."



"My whole purpose in what I have said is to challenge the proposition that we are hopelessly helpless under our system of government to deal with serious problems which confront us in respect to our greatest interests. . . . Primarily it is for the congress to decide whether it has the power and whether and to what extent it will execute it—what character of restraints, whether all or those only which are unreasonable and injurious shall fall under the ban, whether legislation in the first instance should extend to all commerce or only to commerce in articles of vital importance to the people. The time never was when the English-speaking people permitted the articles necessary for their existence to be monopolized or controlled, and all devices to that end found condemnation in the body of their laws. The great English judges pronounced that such manifestations of human avarice required no statute to declare their unlawfulness, that they were crimes against common law—that is, against common right."—*Attorney General Knox, at Pittsburg, Oct. 13.*

"It is a pity that the president did not let the attorney-general speak first. Mr. Knox has certainly spoken more wisely about the regulation of trusts, with fuller knowledge, with more careful reasoning, and, of course, with an understanding of the principles of law which the president did not possess. Had Mr. Roosevelt enjoyed the advantage of reading the speech made by the attorney-general to the members of the Pittsburg chamber of commerce before he set out upon his own speech-making tour, he never would have made his unfortunate suggestion of a constitutional amendment. It is unlikely that he will renew that suggestion, not merely because it was received with cold disfavor by the public, but because Mr. Knox offers adequate remedies for the evils complained of under the constitution as it stands. . . . The attorney general's reasoning and his conclusions will commend themselves to the approval of just minds. They are sane and sensible."—*New York Times.*"

"Now comes Attorney General Knox with the opinion

that congress can, by the exercise of its power over interstate commerce alone, reach the evils complained of. If there is monopoly in the production of a thing which is sold and consumed wholly within a state, congress cannot possibly interfere; but congress can meet the products of monopoly combines the instant they cross state lines. And here Mr. Knox believes national laws can be enacted which will incidentally regulate these monopolies. That power, or something similar to it, has already been exercised in the enactment of laws prohibiting the shipment of diseased cattle, of explosive compounds, and of pernicious literature.

"The attorney general favors the enactment of such a law. Then he would have the additional requirement of publicity as to the business of all trusts and combinations, and an accompanying law against over-capitalization. The experiment is worth trying."—*Toledo Blade*."

"The more the speech made by Attorney General Knox at Pittsburg, Monday evening, on the power of congress, under the commerce clause of the constitution, to deal with trusts is considered, the wider recognition it will receive as a genuine and original contribution to the solution of the problem now uppermost in public thought. . . . The point which the attorney general emphasizes is that congress by changing the direction of its attack can reach the desired results by legislation which the constitution warrants and which the courts will sustain. . . . In other words, congress cannot attack production because incidentally it comes into interstate commerce, but congress can regulate interstate commerce, although by so doing it indirectly interferes with production. . . .

"At this time, when it has been assumed by many that congress must be granted new power by a constitutional amendment, this suggestion of a way out is the most timely of anything that has appeared in recent discussions of the problem. It suggests to congress a line of legislation which the courts are almost certain to sustain."—*Des Moines Register and Leader*."

"There has been no more timely utterance on the trusts than the address of Attorney General Knox at Pittsburg. . . . Referring to the cases brought by the government under existing statutes, Mr. Knox said: 'The president is making an effort to secure an authoritative exposition of existing laws, and is suggesting additional ones to the end that the public mind shall be set at rest and these economic questions taken from the domain of controversy and uncertainty.' If Attorney General Knox correctly stated the purpose of the president, every business man interested in the permanent prosperity of the country ought to second his efforts."—*Chicago "Inter-Ocean."*

**Our Appeal for  
the Rumanian  
Jews**

"Putting together the facts now painfully brought home to this government during the last few years, that many of the inhabitants of Rumania are being forced by artificially adverse discriminations to quit their native country; that the hospitable asylum offered by this country is almost the only refuge left to them; that they come hither unfitted by the conditions of their exile to take part in the new life of this land under circumstances either profitable to themselves or beneficial to the community, and that they are objects of charity from the outset and for a long time, the right of remonstrance against the acts of the Rumanian government is clearly established in favor of this government. Whether consciously and of purpose or not, these helpless people, burdened and spurned by their native land, are forced by the sovereign power of Rumania on the charity of the United States. This government cannot be a tacit party to such an international wrong. It is constrained to protest against the treatment to which the Jews of Rumania are subjected, not alone because it has unimpeachable ground to remonstrate against the resultant injury to itself, but in the name of humanity. The United States may not authoritatively appeal to the stipulations of the treaty of Berlin, to which it was not and cannot become a signatory, but it does earnestly appeal to the principles consigned therein,



because they are the principles of international law and eternal justice, advocating the broad toleration which that solemn compact enjoins, and standing ready to lend its moral support to the fulfilment thereof by its co-signatories, for the act of Rumania itself has effectively joined the United States to them as an interested party in this regard."—*From Secretary of State John Hay's note to the powers signatory to the Treaty of Berlin. Note sent in August, 1902, made public Sept. 17.*

"In Rumania the difference of religious creeds and confessions shall not be alleged against any person as a ground for exclusion or incapacity in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, admission to public employments, functions and honors, or the exercise of the various professions and industries in any locality whatsoever.

"The freedom and outward exercise of all forms of worship shall be assured to all persons belonging to the Rumanian state, as well as to foreigners, and no hindrance shall be offered either to the hierarchical organizations of the different communions or to their relations with their spiritual chiefs.

"The subjects and citizens of all the powers, traders or others, shall be treated in Rumania, without distinction of creed, on a footing of perfect equality."—*Article XLIV of the Treaty of Berlin, of July 13, 1878; between Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Turkey.*

"Whatever may be the pretext for the discrimination against the Jews in Rumania, the real reason for their persecution is unquestionably their superior thrift. They are industrious, abstemious, shrewd, and when they are given an equal chance with the other inhabitants of the country many of them soon become forehanded and engage in business. Some of them are peddlers, some merchants, some craftsmen, some manufacturers, and some money-lenders. It is in the latter capacity that they excite the greatest amount of prejudice. . . . They are . . .

still designated as aliens by Rumanian law, and in order to put a check upon their thrifty proclivities they have been denied the right to live in villages. When this severe regulation failed to starve the Jews out, for they could still make a living from the soil, the definition of village was stretched to include every nook and corner of the country, until the Jews had no abiding place, and were compelled to emigrant."—"*Minneapolis Tribune*."

"The note is a moral protest against a particular condition of affairs in a foreign state, and it so happens that because of the direct effect of that state's internal policy upon the immigration to the United States, the possible retort that the matter is none of our business has no pertinency in the present case. Anything in the broad reach of human affairs that directly affects the interests of a country is the business of that country."—"*Springfield [Mass.] Republican*."

"Secretary Hay's note. . . . shames the old civilized states of Europe by reminding them of their duties toward civilization. . . . Every word of Secretary Hay's note about the treatment of Jews in Rumania is unadulterated truth. The note is addressed to all the signers of the Berlin treaty, but especially to Germany, because it was held under Germany's auspices. No attempt at evasion will do any longer. It is necessary now to show our colors. We hope the policy of the German empire will not break down at a moment when in such a public manner its cooperation is invited in a great task of interest to civilization and humanity."—"*The Tageblatt*," *Berlin*.

"The note is quite characteristic of the American style of thinking. It is peculiar that the United States, so jealous of the Monroe doctrine, should concern itself with a matter which is strictly European, and more particularly the internal business of an independent kingdom."—"*Lokalanzeiger*," *Berlin*.

"The United States, having alleged that they suffered from a nuisance in respect to the incursion of Jewish paupers from Rumania, Rumania has abated the nuisance, and

considers that the United States can have nothing more to say. . . . The forcible stoppage of emigration is a simple barbarity. The Jews whose departure has been prevented were going away because they were debarred from earning a livelihood in Rumania, and if they are kept there, with the law as the Americans understand it to be, they will miserably perish. We cannot imagine that President Roosevelt and Mr. Hay will be content with such a result of American diplomacy in Europe, and in any case, the British government, having taken up the matter, must pursue it seriously. . . . It is certainly the duty, and also the interest, of the European powers, to show the United States that when they have undertaken international responsibilities, they are prepared to fulfil them."—*"The Economist," London.*

"This country which maintains the Monroe doctrine, the foundation and principles of which forbid foreign intervention in interstate concerns, has the least right of any country to exercise a similar influence."—*"Deutsches Volksblatt," Vienna.*

"This indicates a spirit of knight errantry which, however creditable to a great civilized power, is likely to give the Americans plenty of occupation, without increasing their popularity with the governments of the old world."—*"St. James Gazette," London.*

#### **Australia's Many Problems**

"The great question now agitating Australia is in regard to the tariff. The senate, which has only the power of suggestion and request, has by a narrow majority made a large number of requests for reduction of duties which general sentiment considers necessary for the upbuilding of our young industries. Ours is a young country, and is passing through the same phase of industrial development that Canada entered upon twenty-five years ago when Sir John A. MacDonald made his campaign for protection there and put the industries of that country on their feet. Our industries and the labor they employ need similar aid at this time, and the



tariff law which has been framed and is now in process of passage only provides for protection to those Australian industries which are natural to the country and substantial. . . .

"The senate of Australia is constituted the same as the senate of the United States and therefore does not always accurately reflect popular feeling. Each state, large or small, has six representatives; thus giving Tasmania, with only 180,000 population, as much voice in the senate as New South Wales, with 1,600,000. . . . But this has produced a senate which certainly in this instance does not represent the sentiment of Australia in regard to the tariff. There is an abnormal number of free traders in it who are mostly from the smaller states and whose presence is due to exceptional circumstances. They are wielding power derived from accident, and the next election will probably result in a change.

"Protection sentiment is growing in Australia. It is becoming more and more widely recognized that the time has arrived when we should cease to depend on other nations for goods that we can easily and profitably make for ourselves. New South Wales, from which I came, has been free trade, but is progressing toward protection."—*Sir Edmund Barton, Premier of Australia, in "The Independent."*

"The trouble with Queensland is that the act passed last year by the commonwealth providing for the deportation of Polynesians from the colony by the end of 1906 is antagonistic to the planters' interests. They opposed the measure in parliament and were defeated, and they will do no good to their cause by this talk of secession. For that matter, the people of Queensland are by no means a unit on the question. . . . Outside of the planters there is as strong a feeling for a white Australia in Queensland as in any other section of the island continent. All this trouble has come from the importation of cheap labor to work the plantations, and yet the planters say that without this cheap labor their business could not be carried on profitably.

bly. The same trouble is found elsewhere where agricultural pursuits are conducted within the tropics, and a large portion of Queensland comes within the tropics, its north and south boundary being roughly between S. lat. 12 and 28."—*"Boston Herald."*

"It must always be remembered that sub-tropical Australia, the Australia of the southern Australian states—of southern Queensland, of New South Wales, and Victoria—will never consent, come what may, if I am any judge of public opinion, to the systematic introduction of colored labor into northern Australia. They value their inheritance too highly to justify any such expectation. It may be pride, it may be prejudice, but I believe it to be passionate conviction with the present inhabitants of Australia that the unexplored and uninhabited portions of their country shall be reserved for their own use, even though they are included in the zone of the tropics! and when I say their own use I mean, of course, that they would desire that such territory should be occupied as Australia has hitherto been occupied—by men and women of their own kith and kin—and that the introduction of eastern races must be subject to such limitations as they may please to impose."—*John Douglas*, in *"The Nineteenth Century,"* London.

"The negro was very largely the cause of the dissatisfaction and quarrel in the American confederation, and another alien race, the Kanaka, appears to be the source of the trouble in United Australia. Queensland is greatly excited and talks of secession because of a federal law which would exclude Kanaka laborers from Australia. . . . It is safe to say that the wiser heads are on the shoulders of the men who oppose the importation of the Kanakas. They certainly should not be imported if it can possibly be avoided. The Australians should take warning from the experience of the Americans with an alien race imported for the sake of cheap labor. There are a thousand reasons in favor of a white Australia."—*"Macon [Ga.] Telegraph."*

"In Australia, as formerly in the United States, profound disaffection has succeeded the enthusiasm for union.

In several of the state legislatures resolutions have been introduced proposing the dissolution of the union, but it is stated that they cannot pass. Our forefathers were quite familiar with such resolutions, and with things a great deal worse. No student can read the current American literature of the first years of the nineteenth century without recognizing a prevalent spirit of discontent which almost culminated in the rebellion of all New England during our second war with England. . . . And yet in time the nation becomes welded together. It is certain that the Australian government will never be subjected to such strains as those which our own government endured in its early years, and Australian statesmen may, and doubtless do, take courage from the experiences of a people of their own race on this continent a century ago. The next generation will be Australians."—*San Francisco Chronicle*."

**Current  
Price  
Comparisons**

The following are the latest wholesale price quotations, showing comparison with previous dates:

	Oct. 21, 1901	Sept. 20, 1902	Oct. 21, 1902
Flour, Minn. patent (bbl. 196 lbs.)	\$3.70	\$3.85	\$4.00
Wheat, No. 2 red (bushel) . . . .	78½	75½	78½
Corn, No. 2 mixed (bushel) . . . .	61½	71½	67½
Oats, No. 2 mixed (bushel) . . . .	39½	31½	34
Pork, mess (bbl., 200 lbs.) . . . .	16.00	18.00	18.75
Beef, hams (bbl., 200 lbs.) . . . .	21.50	22.00	21.50
Coffee, Rio No. 7 (lb.) . . . . .	67½	58	58½
Sugar, granulated (lb.) . . . . .	51½	47½	46½
Butter, creamery, extra (lb.) . . .	22½	22½	25
Cheese, State f.c., small fancy (lb.)	10	11	12½
Cotton, middling upland (lb.) . . .	8½	9	87½
Print cloths (yard) . . . . .	3	3	3
Petroleum, refined, in bbls. (gal.)	7100	710	710
Hides, native steers (lb.) . . . . .	13½	14½	14
Leather, hemlock (lb.) . . . . .	24½	24½	24½
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry (ton 2000 lbs.) . . . . .	16.00	23.00	23.00
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry (ton 2000 lbs.) . . . . .	15.00	22.00	22.00



	Oct. 21, 1901	Sept. 20, 1902	Oct. 21, 1902
Tin, Straits (100 lbs.) . . . . .	25.00	26.40	27.75
Copper, Lake ingot (100 lbs.) . .	16.85	11.75	12.00
Lead, domestic (100 lbs.) . . . .	4.37½	4.12½	4.12½
Tinplate, 100 lbs., I. C., 14x20. .	4.40	4.35	4.35
Steel rails (ton 2000 lbs.) . . . .	28.00	28.00	28.00
Wire nails (Pittsburg), (keg 100 lbs.) . . . . .	2.30	2.05	1.90
Steers, prime, Chicago (100 lbs.)	—	8.07	7.75

*Dun's Review* shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities, averaged according to importance in per capita consumption, for October 1 and comparison with previous dates, as follows:

	Jan. 1, 1892	Oct. 1, 1898	Oct. 1, 1899	Oct. 1, 1900	Oct. 1, 1901	Sept. 1, 1902	Oct. 1, 1902
Breadstuffs. . .	\$17.700	\$11.759	\$13.315	\$14.255	\$17.146	\$17.579	\$17.494
Meats . . . . .	7.895	7.628	8.378	9.105	9.517	10.402	10.279
Dairy and garden	13.180	9.021	11.663	12.231	13.164	10.930	12.931
Other food . . .	9.185	8.812	9.069	9.803	9.190	8.811	8.800
Clothing . . . .	13.430	14.350	15.865	15.980	15.279	15.773	15.771
Metals. . . . .	14.665	11.796	18.042	15.574	15.760	16.655	18.736
Miscellaneous .	13.767	12.604	14.965	15.666	16.835	16.532	16.637
Total . . . . .	\$89.822	\$75.970	\$91.297	\$92.614	\$96.891	\$96.682	\$100.648

English prices of staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*, are as follows:

	Oct. 4, 1901			Sept. 5, 1902			Oct. 3, 1902		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Steel rails (long ton, 2,240 lbs.) . .	5	10	0	5	10	0	5	10	0
Scotch pig iron (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	2	13	9	2	17	6	2	17	9
Copper ( " " )	63	7	6	52	10	0	52	10	0
Tin, Straits ( " " )	107	5	0	124	0	0	113	17	6
Lead, English pig ( " " )	12	2	6	11	5	0	11	1	3
Cotton, middling upland (lb.) . . .	0	0	4½	0	0	5½	0	0	4½
Petroleum (gallon) . . . . .	0	0	6	0	0	5½	0	0	5½

(American equivalents of English money: pound — \$4.866; shilling — 24.3 cents; penny — 2.03 cents.)

The average prices of sixty railway stocks, ten industrial, and five city traction and gas stocks are given by *Dun's Review*, as follows:

	Dec. 31, 1901	Sept. 19, 1902	Oct. 17, 1902
Average, 60 railway . . . . .	102.99	115.44	110.49
“ 10 industrial . . . . .	63.45	65.71	63.75
“ 5 city traction, etc. . . . .	137.37	137.60	133.67

Prices of certain significant stocks on the New York stock exchange, showing range during the year, as given by *Bradstreet's*, and the asking prices of certain other stocks, as furnished by the *New York Tribune*, are as follows:

	Closing Prices		Range during 1902	
	Sept. 19, 1902	Oct. 17, 1902	Highest	Lowest
Amer. Beet Sugar (com.) . . . . .	—	—	30	30
Amer. Sugar Ref. (com.) . . . . .	130 $\frac{7}{8}$	125 $\frac{3}{8}$	135 $\frac{1}{8}$	116 $\frac{1}{4}$
Amer. Tobacco (pref.) . . . . .	144	—	151 $\frac{1}{2}$	140
Cont. Tobacco (pref.) . . . . .	122 $\frac{7}{8}$	121 $\frac{1}{4}$	126 $\frac{1}{2}$	115
Gt. Northern Ry. (pref.) . . . . .	198	192	202 $\frac{1}{2}$	181 $\frac{1}{2}$
International Paper (pref.) . . . . .	73 $\frac{1}{2}$	73	77 $\frac{1}{8}$	70 $\frac{1}{2}$
N. Y. Central R. R. . . . .	164 $\frac{1}{4}$	158 $\frac{1}{2}$	168 $\frac{7}{8}$	149 $\frac{3}{4}$
Pennsylvania R. R. . . . .	168 $\frac{1}{8}$	166 $\frac{1}{4}$	170	147
Ph. & Read R. R. (1st pf.) . . . . .	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	88	90 $\frac{1}{4}$	79 $\frac{7}{8}$
Southern Pacific Ry. . . . .	79 $\frac{1}{2}$	74 $\frac{1}{8}$	81	58
U. S. Rubber (pref.) . . . . .	58 $\frac{3}{8}$	56	63 $\frac{1}{2}$	49 $\frac{7}{8}$
U. S. Steel (com.) . . . . .	41 $\frac{7}{8}$	41 $\frac{1}{8}$	46 $\frac{3}{4}$	36 $\frac{3}{4}$
“ “ (pref.) . . . . .	91 $\frac{7}{8}$	90 $\frac{3}{4}$	97 $\frac{3}{4}$	87 $\frac{1}{2}$
Western Union Tel. . . . .	95 $\frac{1}{4}$	92 $\frac{1}{2}$	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	84 $\frac{3}{4}$
	Asking Prices			
	Sept. 20, 1902	Oct. 20 1902		
North. Securities Co. . . . .	115	110 $\frac{3}{4}$		
Standard Oil Co. . . . .	680	675		
U. S. Shipbuilding (pref.) . . . . .	61	60		
Swift & Co. . . . .	—	165		

# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## PROTECTION A NATIONAL DOCTRINE

In these days of economic vacillation and political wabbling on the tariff, it is encouraging to hear a clear, firm, confident note sounded on protection by one who has had wide experience in public life, as congressman at home and ambassador abroad, and also had the practical experience of a large manufacturer. The following significant remarks were made in a recent address by General William F. Draper, president of the largest textile machine manufacturing establishment in the country:

"Now, ladies and gentlemen, it is evident that if protection is to stand as a principle, it must be fairly and impartially applied. If Massachusetts asks protection for her products consumed by other states, it is no more than fair that she should agree to protection on the products of other states that she consumes. If woolens made in Massachusetts demand protection the wool of Ohio and the far West is also entitled to it, and if the machines which manufacture it are protected I see no reason why the iron of Pennsylvania and Alabama which we consume should not be also—if it needs protection to insure the profitable continuance of the business of making iron and the payment of American wages in that industry. More than this, the senators and representatives from other states will never agree that the products of Massachusetts shall be protected and theirs open to free foreign competition. They would rather have free trade all around, and they would be perfectly right in taking this position.

"I say this as a large consumer of a so-called raw material, pig iron. The Draper company, of which I am president, melts 100 tons per day, and the duty is \$4 per ton, so that if we could save the amount of the duty if it were removed, which is doubtful, we should save \$400 a day, or \$120,000 a year. If, however, we should make this saving at the expense of making the American iron industry unprofitable, or of cutting down the wages of the men employed in it, it would be an injury to the country,



and we cannot consistently ask for it while our own product, machinery, is protected. More than this, however, much as we may ask for it from either a republican or democratic congress, we should not get it unless the duty on machinery were abolished also or reduced to a corresponding or greater extent. If this duty on machinery were abolished it would close our shops; if it were reduced just enough to correspond we should gain nothing and the makers of iron would lose; while if it were reduced in greater proportion we would suffer loss.

"Now, it is evident that both principle and interest will prevent our joining in any hue or cry for free iron. We are protectionists for iron, which we buy, as well as for machinery, which we sell. (Applause). When the republican party ceases to be a protectionist party it will be beaten, and deserves to be, as if the people wish to try another free trade experiment the democratic party is the proper one to conduct it."

This has the true ring. It is the voice of statesmanship, not of special pleading or business favoritism. General Draper's remarks are the more significant because they come from Massachusetts, from whence so much small talk is emanating nowadays. For more than half a century New England has been the special beneficiary of protection; almost every New England industry has been the special object of protection; but, unfortunately, in New England protection appears to have been treated more as a special privilege than as a national policy. New England manufacturers have done much to encourage, not to say justify, the enemies of protection in their persistent announcement that a protective tariff is business favoritism by political methods. They are very eager for protection for what they have to sell, but they want free trade for what they have to buy. They want protection for manufactured products, but free trade for raw material; in short, they want protection for the industries of New England and free trade for the industries of the South and West. The woolen manufacturers want high protective duty on woolens, but free wool. The iron and steel manufacturers want protection for iron, steel and metal products, but free iron ore.

That is not protection; it is favoritism. It is using the government to aid the business of particular sections.

Such a use of tariff schedules is a travesty on the idea of protection. Protection is not a scheme for dealing out personal or local favors; it is a principle of national development. The object of protection is not to make somebody rich, or to give some group or locality an advantage over others, but it is to create the conditions of national advancement and prosperity. The object of protection is to vouchsafe to the people of the United States all the stimulus and opportunity that the American market will afford for industrial experimentation and development. It is no less, but if anything more, important to the national welfare that this stimulating inducement should exist in the South and West and in the East. If protection is worth considering and applying at all, it is as a national policy based upon sound political philosophy. From no other point of view is it worth considering. Protection had better be abandoned altogether than used for dealing out special favors.

This prevalent habit of regarding protection as a scheme of dispensing favors, instead of a principle of public policy, is responsible for much of the business-disturbing agitation with which the nation is periodically afflicted. From this point of view the tariff is naturally regarded as a matter of personal or local interest, instead of impersonal national policy. This view tends to stimulate narrow, selfish and altogether unpatriotic and uneconomic treatment of the subject; it leads to a system of barter and bargain in the making of schedules. Under this idea of the subject one group of producers is ready to barter away the interests of another or of the nation to secure favors for themselves. The raw-material producers of the South and West become suspicious of the protection afforded the manufacturers of the East, and the eastern manufacturers are correspondingly willing to sacrifice the interests of the South and West for an advantage to themselves.

This is the basis upon which business-disturbing tariff agitations chiefly rest. The New England manufacturers demand protection for their products, but clamor for free

raw material. Duty on raw materials, they say, prevents them from making inroads upon foreign markets. If they could only have free wool, free hides, free iron ore, free tin, and free everything that they use in manufacture, they could successfully compete in foreign markets; but they forget, or fail to see, that if they buy all their so-called raw materials from foreigners they will destroy much of the home market for their products. If the wool, iron and other raw materials are to be imported, then the labor and capital employed in producing these commodities will be dislocated and much of our domestic consumption and industrial prosperity destroyed. This altogether mistaken and narrowly selfish view entertained by our eastern manufacturers, particularly in New England, was one of the chief causes of the industrial wreck of 1893. There is a certain class who are free-traders by conviction and tradition, who are constantly alert for every opportunity to propagate what they believe to be sound political doctrine. To this there can be no legitimate objection; but those who believe in protection and expect to benefit by it, and yet are ready to reduce it to this bargain-counter basis, are entitled to no such respect.

The agitation for free trade during the latter 80's and early 90's, by the propaganda of abstract doctrine, could never have compassed the election of Mr. Cleveland with his anti-tariff policy had it not been for the support and the backing of what appeared to be the practical business men and manufacturers who lent themselves to the anti-tariff crusade under the plea of free raw materials. They succeeded in getting free raw materials, but they also destroyed every opportunity to use any raw materials. In trying to secure a benefit for themselves at the expense of others, Samson-like, they pulled down the whole edifice, only to find themselves involved in the debris of an industrial catastrophe.

Much the same thing is going on now that occurred a dozen years ago. In 1902, as in 1892, the cry is being raised for a New England tariff; namely, protection for



what New England sells and free trade for what it buys; and the advocates of "tariff reform" (which means tariff destruction) are again making the most of this plea, insisting that the manufacturers want tariff revision. This movement is not yet strong enough to force a successful political issue for a purely revenue tariff, but it is taking the more insidious form of reciprocity.

Reciprocity is only another name for a scheme to dicker away the American market by special bargain instead of by general policy. It is a scheme for introducing free trade in spots by special bargains—a scheme for sacrificing one industry for the benefit of another. This fits in well enough with the free trade idea, because from that point of view every addition to the free list, no matter how accomplished, is so much net gain toward free trade; enough of it would destroy the whole protective system. The influence of this is to undermine the economic validity of the entire protective policy. It practically says to the business interests of the country: If you want free raw materials, or want access to any particular foreign market, lobby in congress for a reciprocity treaty which shall sacrifice some industry for your benefit. And it practically says that if you will spend money enough in the lobby you can buy the entry into any market you desire. On this plan one set of American industries becomes pitted against another set for sacrifice, instead of all being united for a policy which shall be beneficial to the whole country. Thus we have a certain group of manufacturers asking for a Cuban treaty which shall sacrifice the tobacco and sugar industries in order that their goods may have easy entry into Cuba. The manufacturers of agricultural implements of the West are willing and eager to sacrifice the knitting goods manufacturers of the East for their easy entry into France; and so on. Under the impression that this is a liberal progressive policy, the administration is favoring if not definitely committing itself to this bartering away of one American industry for the benefit of another, in the name of reciprocity.

This is all wrong. If protection is a sound policy, then it should and must be a national doctrine. It should be treated as a permanent political principle, that whatever is worth having is worth protecting. The thing most of all worth having in this country, because it is the basis of all else, is business prosperity and industrial development. The one thing indispensable to the national development of industry is opportunity. This does not mean merely to give permission for a free-handed scramble with the world. Opportunity means possibility. The possibility for the development of industry in its infinite variety of forms means a market. There is but one market that we can give to American capital, and that is the American market, which is the best in the world, and we can offer it as an inducing opportunity for capital; not as a personal privilege or favoritism, but as a general inducement to exploit and diversify the economic possibilities of the nation, and thereby stimulate the social possibilities of the people.

Foreign markets are desirable, but only as an incident to domestic progress. The home market is the place for experimentation and progress of industrial methods and accomplishment, and it is the best place. It is here, if at all, that we must develop our industrial superiority over other nations; it is important, therefore, to our very growth as a nation that we must protect this great opportunity as the field for our economic experimentation. Foreign markets are of secondary interest, because they are of secondary value, economically and commercially. Domestic production and consumption contribute more to the civilization and growth of the nation than foreign trade can ever do, because, besides having all the profits and wages earned and expended at home, it affords the industrial and social experience out of which greater development and national growth alone can come. Any foreign trade that is secured by lowering home conditions or by the sacrifice of a home industry is an injury to the nation. The cheapness by which we shall undersell foreigners abroad should and must come, not through lowering our social standard at

home, nor by the sacrifice of any domestic industry, but by the greater economy secured through our higher wage level, inventive intelligence and superior methods.

Reciprocity, especially as now advocated, is a direct attack upon the protective principle and policy. It is an attempt to do, by special bargain with some industries, what those who are advocating it would like to do with all, namely, destroy protection. It proposes to sacrifice certain domestic interests to give certain other industries easy entrance to Cuba. Other industries are to be sacrificed, that certain industries may get easy access to Canada; and again others, that some special products may find access to France, and to Germany, and so on. In each case American industry is sacrificed, and so one by one domestic industries are to be stricken down. Of course this is an ingenious way of enlarging the free list and paring away the protective policy. If it could continue, it would soon have free trade applied to a sufficiently large number of industries so that protection to the rest would not be worth while, and in fact could not be maintained.

Such a policy is neither good economics, good statesmanship, nor even good politics. There is a large number of honest people who are caught by it, just as the fly is inveigled by the spider, but the real advocates of this reciprocity proposition are those who seek to destroy the protective system because they do not believe in it. They are free-traders by conviction. They are honest in their desire to destroy protection, but they are urging reciprocity as a sneak method of catching those whose protection is based more on personal interest than economic and political principle.

Moreover, reciprocity is bad policy because it will tend to disturb the harmony of our political relations with foreign countries. It is unnecessary to say that at bottom the foreign policy of all modern nations now arises from an industrial and commercial motive; it once was mere dynastic authority, but with the development of industrialism the motive has been transferred to business advan-



tage. The hungry struggles of the different nations in China are not merely to exercise authority in China, but rather to get possession of the Chinese market for trade purposes. That is the object of the diplomatic fencing that is going on regarding the innovation of western civilization in the Orient. Who shall have the market is the great problem, and with no country is the motive clearer than the United States. We have announced that we want no territorial authority in China; we want no "sphere of influence," but we insist upon the open door, which simply means that we shall have the free right to enter that market. Of course, this a much higher motive than mere territorial aggrandizement by military authority. It is obvious, however, that if we are to retain the frank friendship of foreign nations we must deal with them all fairly regarding their industrial opportunity in the United States. This is the best market in the world, and they know it. Any nation would give more for free entrance to the market of the United States than to have a monopoly of China.

Every reciprocity treaty is a discrimination in favor of some particular nation against others. To the extent that this is carried out, it is sure to create displeasure, and ultimately political animosity. If by some dicker we sacrifice a home industry to let France have a special advantage, say over Germany, for knit goods in the United States, Germany is going to be less cordial in her relations with us. Why should she not?—and vice versa. More than any other nation, we have outgrown militarism; we represent, in the highest form yet developed, industrial civilization, which is preeminently peaceful civilization. Our policy, therefore, should be not merely peaceful in its motive but harmonious and peaceful in its tendency. We are conscious of having the best and therefore the most coveted market in the world, and our policy should be to protect all the opportunities that market affords to our own people, giving encouragement and security to all the efforts that invested capital, invested genius and superior labor can develop. Our foreign policy should be to admit the

outside nations to that market on equal terms; all who can enter the American market on American conditions should be welcomed on equal terms. Protection should not be in small circles around special industries, but should encircle the nation; it should be high enough adequately to cover the difference in labor cost here against the lowest competing labor cost abroad, not the highest. As a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, protection will adequately protect only when it adequately covers the difference between American labor cost and the lowest competing labor cost abroad.

All who would enter the American market would thus be compelled to pay the equivalent of American wages; what they failed to pay in wages to their labor at home they would have to pay in duty on coming here. This places the competition in the American market upon an economic basis which rests on the American standard of living and civilization. This is sound political science; it is a principle which applies to all countries. The basis of competition in every country should be the social standard of living and labor cost of that country. No nation should ever permit its domestic products to be undersold by foreign products whose cheapness depends upon lower wages and an inferior standard of living. The right of foreign competition to succeed in a domestic market should always be made to depend upon economic superiority, and never upon social inferiority. In other words, superior economic methods and higher productive skill and capacity are the only means by which foreign products should ever be permitted to undersell domestic products in a domestic market. To permit the products of domestic industry to be undersold and the industry destroyed by the products of lower paid labor abroad is as immoral as it is uneconomic; it is permitting pauperism to undermine and destroy civilization, which is a crime against the race.

The same is true of our competition in foreign markets. The only true ethical as well as economic basis on which American capitalists can compete in foreign markets

is by the use of superior skill and productive methods; in short, by being able through science and civilization to furnish cheaper and better goods. There is neither economic, ethical nor political merit in being able to undersell foreign producers in their own market through a special privilege secured by a government dicker.

Moreover, this system of reciprocity is uncertain; it puts business on a political instead of an economic basis. An industry may be greatly stimulated by a reciprocity treaty to the extent that it succeeds in enabling American producers to destroy the industry of another country, until great discontent and political agitation may call for a reversal. In other countries it may create retaliation, and thus act as a boomerang. But if our trade abroad rests upon a purely meritorious competitive economic foundation, it will be permanent and lasting. If, for instance, under our high-wage protective conditions, the demand is specially large to develop the capacity for making locomotives cheaper in the United States than in any other country, then every dollar's worth of foreign trade is a permanent addition, because it is secured without political privilege and through purely economic superiority. Such foreign trade is going to last; it is going to increase; but every attempt to subject our own industries to political barter and give special privileges to certain American industries abroad is introducing into our industrial life uncertainty and disturbance, substituting the exigencies of foreign politics for an economic basis of industry, with a constant motive for political corruption.

One of the most misleading phases of this reciprocity discussion is the so-called sympathy or moral responsibility for other nations, so conspicuously displayed in the case of Cuba. This is not merely unsound; it is maudlin sentiment. The true way to help other nations is not to destroy our own industries in order charitably to buy their products, but on the contrary it is to make the most of our own possibilities, and give others the benefits of our discoveries and superior methods. Charitably to surrender our own



markets to the poorer nations is simply to let them drag us down. Progress demands that we should lift them up, and the only way to help lift Cuba and other countries to our own level is to give them the benefit of the superior devices and discoveries resulting from our own experimentation and progress. In the numerous lines in which we have excelled sufficiently to be able to sell products cheaper abroad than they can be produced there with their own cheap labor, we have made discoveries that foreigners can and will adopt, and in doing so they will get an everlasting benefit which will be worth far more to them than the permission to sell in our market and thereby prevent the development of these superior methods, thus perpetuating their own relatively crude and clumsy devices.

The true American policy is the simple straightforward policy: Protect the American market with all its opportunities for the American people; give no special privileges to any foreigners to sell in this country; let all enter on the same plane, namely, by being able to compete on American conditions, which always must involve the payment of the full equivalent of American wages. And let our foreign trade be a natural, wholesome, economic growth, by which American producers shall compete on the sound economic basis of being able to undersell, not by any special privilege but by the superiority of American methods and skill. Such a policy is good ethics, good economics and sound statesmanship.

## THE NEW DEPARTURE IN AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

W. MAITLAND ABELL, LL.M.

A new epoch in the history of our American diplomacy was initiated by the Hay note to the Concert of Europe, on the deplorable condition of the Rumanian Jews. But important as this new departure is in itself, other reasons unite with it to awaken widespread interest in our Secretary's protest. Among these the plea, in the name of humanity, for the oppressed in Balkan Europe is chief. Struggles for political and civil liberty in that part of the continent have always excited sympathetic interest in the United States.

When the thrilling verse of Lord Byron on the "departed worth" of Greece was transforming the classical sentiment of England into that diplomatic activity destined to "long accustom'd bondage uncreate," our own Daniel Webster became the champion in America of the Turk-oppressed Greeks. And the United States sent a special agent to Greece to discover when conditions should be ripe for official recognition of Greek independence from Ottoman rule.

And later the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49 awakened the liveliest sympathy in America. To our hospitable shores the United States officially invited and received Louis Kossuth, the exiled advocate of independence and civil liberty for the Magyar people, who with hearts full of gratitude have but recently celebrated the centenary of that patriot's birth.

On the other side of the Carpathians, during 1848, that year of general revolution in Europe, the Danubian principalities revolted against Russian oppression. And scarcely had the treaty of Paris of 1856 placed them under the suzerainty of the Porte when they sought to sever this vassalage. Contrary to the public will of

Europe and against the protest of their suzerain, Moldavia and Wallachia were united under one native prince, Couza, and given the name Rumania; then, as the next step, Couza was forced to abdicate and Charles I, a scion of the house of Hohenzollern, was elected to the Rumanian throne, in the hope that his family connections might link the ambitious principality with central and western Europe and thus magnify its political importance.

Finally, the very opportunity through which Rumanian independence of Turkey was realized was developed largely as the result of an American's interest in Balkan affairs. It was the personal though unofficial investigation of Eugene Schuyler, then a United States consul in Turkey, into the real situation in Bulgaria, and his letters to Gladstone on the "Bulgarian atrocities" that fomented the public sentiment of Europe to such a degree against Turkish oppression in the Balkan peninsula that Russia was allowed to intervene in 1877. And it was this armed intervention of the czar and his victory over the Porte, with the aid of his Muldo-Wallachian allies, that made possible Rumanian independence.

This long moral support to the cause of freedom in the Balkan region would seem to have earned for us the right to protest, now that Rumania, forgetful of her own past struggles against oppression, has violated the individual rights of its Jewish population to our detriment. But the anti-Semitic press of the continent unkindly termed our protest a "foreign intervention" and an effort to concern ourselves "with a matter which is strictly European and more particularly the internal business of an independent kingdom." And our Monroe doctrine was mockingly flaunted in our face as a bar to such active diplomatic meddling in the concerns of Europe. But this retaliative use of our national policy ignores the real principle of its origin, which was democratic resistance to the old continental régime.

To the treaty of the Holy Alliance in 1815, the emperors of Russia and Austria and the kings of Prussia and



France affixed their own sovereign signatures. As such a convention is usually concluded through the agency of ministers, a special significance was implied in that sovereign act: it was an emphatic revival of the old *jure divino* theory. Napoleon had thrown himself athwart the historic course of monarchic systems and redistributed the territory on the continent by conquest, while the congress of Vienna, at the close of the Napoleonic wars, restored the deposed monarchs and sought to swing the political régime back to its historic trend. The Holy Alliance, formed but a few months later, aimed to emphasize and ensure the success of this reactionary policy. It proclaimed to the world that the signatory sovereigns had been "delegated by Providence to govern" their respective subjects. Though professing a benevolent paternalism, the real principle of the Holy Alliance was the divine right of kings as opposed to the rights of the people. Its real purpose was to resist the spread of democratic tendencies. And in 1822 these allies signed the secret treaty of Verona, in which they engaged mutually "to put an end to the system of representative government" in Europe and to adopt measures to destroy the "liberty of the press." And, during the next year, in fulfillment of a secret understanding, France intervened to suppress the new constitutional government in Spain and restored there the absolute monarchy of Ferdinand VII.

While this autocratic and reactionary policy was being enforced in Spain, Great Britain learned that the allies were about to call a congress to devise means to put down the Spanish revolt in America. Whereupon George Canning, then British minister for foreign affairs, suggested to Richard Rush, the United States minister at London, a joint intervention to thwart this attempt to re-establish the Spanish monarchic system in the belligerent dependencies. "Nothing could be more gratifying to me than to join with you in such a work," wrote Canning in a recently discovered private and confidential letter to Rush, August 20th, 1823; and he added: "I am persuaded there has sel-

dom, in the history of the world, occurred an opportunity when so small an effort of two friendly governments might produce so unequivocal a good and prevent such extensive calamities."

But a joint declaration was not made by the British and the Americans, because both Mr. Rush and Mr. Adams, our Secretary of State, maintained that we could act jointly with England only on the basis of the acknowledged independence of the Spanish-American states. As British interest in these new American republics was chiefly commercial and not political, as with us, England, through fear of an open breach with the continental allies, deemed it inexpedient to follow the lead of the United States and recognize their independence. Consequently the declaration was made by the United States alone. It appears in the 48th and 49th paragraphs of President Monroe's message to congress, December 2nd, 1823, and declares that we should consider any attempt of the allied powers "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

There is, to be sure, another declaration from which the Monroe doctrine is also derived in the 7th paragraph of this same message. But this was directed against Russian aggression on our western coast and announced the principle that the American continents were no longer subjects for "future colonization" by European powers. And these terms have since been warped from their original import. Hence the present official as well as the popular conception of this phase of the doctrine diverges from the idea of Monroe and Adams.

The original Monroe doctrine was the diplomatic effort of democracy to keep from this hemisphere the old monarchic régime of the continent, while the recent Hay note was the effort of that same democracy to keep from these shores the people pauperized by that same oppressive system. The only distinction is between the system itself and the results of the system; for the Rumanian Jews have fallen prey to the lingering residue of that old oppressive

policy. To realize this we have but to contrast the Europe of today with that of the time of Monroe.

Of the nations whose sovereign rulers joined in the Holy Alliance, all but one have transformed their old monarchic system into a constitutional government: Austria, by granting practical independence to Hungary, has become Austria-Hungary, with a dual government based upon the confederate principle. The Hungarian component enjoys a parliamentary régime, ministerial responsibility to the popular will, and political and judicial equality; while Austria proper has a federal system somewhat like that of the United States. In theory the central government is nearer the presidential than the parliamentary form, but in practice the ministers are responsible, though not jointly, as in Hungary and England. While the upper house of the Austrian legislature still rests chiefly upon the hereditary principle, the lower house is elective and is based, in part at least, upon manhood suffrage.

The kingdom of Prussia has expanded, since the time of the Holy Alliance, into the German empire, with a liberal written constitution and a federal system of government. Though the executive is hereditary instead of elective, the form of the imperial government is really presidential. The upper house of the legislature is a concession to the several states of the empire, like our senate. But as its members are appointed by the princes at the head of these states, it is more like a body of ambassadors at the imperial capital and its sessions are held behind closed doors. But the lower house is a representative body of modern type based upon the democratic principle of manhood suffrage. Indeed, democracy is the strongest element in the German imperial government. Citizens of one state of the empire enjoy the rights of citizens in any other state. This principle was taken directly from our own constitution, and makes a common citizenship throughout the empire, as in the United States.

The kingdom of France of the *jure divino* era has been transformed to a modern republic with a president like our



own, and a ministry responsible to both houses of the legislature, which in turn are thoroughly democratic in respect to the suffrage from which they spring.

Thus Russia, whose emperor, Alexander I, inaugurated the Holy Alliance, is the only power signatory to that treaty which still maintains the autocratic system which that alliance sought to conserve, and against the extension of which to this hemisphere our Monroe doctrine, as derived from the 48th paragraph of Monroe's message, was proclaimed. And it is significant in this connection that it was the aggressive policy of Russia, as exhibited in her designs on our western coast, that provoked the declaration in the 7th paragraph of the same message. Obviously, if the Monroe doctrine—as derived from either paragraph—were to be announced for the first time today, it would be aimed chiefly at Russia.

From this perspective how significant is the fact that Russian edicts, operative against the Jews, caused a Semitic migration to the United States during the Harrison administration, in quality and volume even more dangerous to us than the recent emigration from the Rumanian kingdom. Protesting against the internal conditions which caused such lamentable results, Mr. Blaine, then Secretary of State, in a note addressed to St. Petersburg, February 18th, 1891, said:

"The Government of the United States does not assume to dictate the internal policy of other nations, or to make suggestions as to what their municipal laws should be or as to the manner in which they should be administered. Nevertheless, the mutual duties of nations require that each should use its power with a due regard for the results which its exercise produces on the rest of the world. It is in this respect that the condition of the Jews in Russia is now brought to the attention of the United States, upon whose shores are cast daily evidence of the suffering and destitution wrought by the enforcement of the edicts against this unhappy people. I am persuaded that His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia and his councilors can feel no sympathy with measures which are forced upon other nations by such deplorable consequences."

Now the same sociological conditions, and that same propinquity to the Orient that has retarded Russian civil-

ization and caused it to lag some centuries behind the rest of the civilized world, must be ascribed as part of the complex cause for the present oppressive policy of Rumania. Then Charles I, the present king of Rumania, has exhibited pro-Russian proclivities since the beginning of his reign. Personally he seems to appreciate the economic value of his Jewish population; but, by reason of its geographical position, his kingdom is more especially the political protégé of Russia than of any other power, hence his governmental policy is of necessity pro-Russian. Even the Rumanian "law of expulsion" was passed at the instance of Russia. Framed to legalize the expulsion of nihilists, it has in fact been applied to the resident Jews. In short, the autocratic and oppressive administrative policy of Russia prevails also in Rumania in respect to the Jews; and it springs essentially from like conditions and motives.

Viewed in the light of its origin, this oppressive policy is distinctly oriental. And the immediate political influence of the Orient on Rumania, through its long vassalage to the Porte, is even more recent than on Russian institutions and administrative methods. The whole social fabric and political régime developed under this oriental influence differ widely from our own. If regard be had to the occidental point of view, it must be judged from the perspective of continental Europe at the time of the Holy Alliance. In fact, it is the lingering residue on the continent of that paternal, yet autocratic and oppressive, policy which the Holy Alliance opposed to democratic tendencies.

The democracy of the West has been gradually forcing this oppressive system back toward its home in the east. Our Monroe doctrine checked its spread to the western hemisphere. And since then its active influence on the continent has dwindled to Russia and the Balkan states; for though the Rumanian government is constitutional in form it is still autocratic in its administrative methods. Western civilization no longer fears the encroachment of this system itself but now protests, in the language of

diplomacy, against "the results which its exercise produces on the rest of the world." Against these baleful results the Blaine note to Russia was an American protest. That note is precisely in point as a precedent for our negotiations with the Rumanian government to ameliorate the condition of its Jewish population.

But our direct negotiations with Rumania were ineffectual. And so our Secretary of State appealed to the European Concert to coerce its protégé to desist from the acts which resulted in injury to us. In this appeal to the public will of Europe is the differentiating point of our new departure. By it we are concerning ourselves with the internal policy, not of a single nation, but of Europe as a whole. We are seeking to influence the European Concert to act for our interest in matters of its own creating.

The term "European concert" is but a synonym for the diplomatic system of Europe, and implies the cooperation of the great European powers for the accomplishment of certain ends, the object being the "balance of power" or *status quo*. Of necessity this has been the most fundamental principle of European diplomacy since the close of the thirty years' war in 1648. Tentative resort to this principle of restraint may be traced to even earlier times, but since the great congress of Westphalia regular appeal has been made to it to check the ambitious career of any power which attempted to disturb the equilibrium. Not infrequently this concert of the powers has employed armed forces, as in the war of the Spanish succession to thwart the ambitious schemes of Louis XIV, and in the concerted military efforts to check the meteoric career of Napoleon.

But usually the principle has been expressed through a congress of all the great European powers, called to impose terms of peace on the victor of two or more nations which have been engaged in common war. This is exactly what happened after the Russo-Turkish war. The treaty of San Stefano greatly increased Russia's power and influence in the Balkan region. This alarmed both Austria and England, and they united in demanding that Balkan affairs be



adjusted at a general conference of the European powers. This congress was held at Berlin, and there on the 13th of July, 1878, was concluded the so-called "treaty of Berlin" between "Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, and Turkey for the settlement of affairs in the East."

The terms of settlement stipulated at this Berlin congress were a signal triumph for British diplomacy in the person of Lord Beaconsfield, over Russian ambition as represented by Count Gortchakoff. As regards Rumania, it was a determined effort of the Concert of Europe, whose majority voice had become democratic, as we have seen, to eliminate the principle of the autocratic régime and to ensure religious freedom and equality of civil rights. As to where the ultimate credit for this belongs, there have been some misconceptions. As matter of record, M. Waddington, the French plenipotentiary, proposed that Rumanian independence be conditioned upon the same religious liberty and equality of rights as had already been stipulated for Servia. While a close scrutiny of the inside facts seems to require that credit be given to Bismarck, the president of the congress, for the real initiative so far as the Rumanian provisions are concerned, yet the fact remains that Salisbury suggested the stipulations as to Servia, which were substantially copied. There is no doubt that Bismarck lent an attentive ear to powerful Semitic influence in respect to Rumania; while the French and British plenipotentiaries were influenced more by the idea of equality and liberty.

The Rumanian constitution of the year when Charles I was elected "domn" of the principality had expressed hostility toward the Jews in words which translated are: "Foreigners of Christian rites can alone obtain naturalization." Corrective of such discrimination it was stipulated at Berlin that Rumanian independence should be recognized only upon condition that the constitution be so amended as to exclude no one from citizenship, public office, employment or pursuit because of his religious faith. The

outward forms of this condition having been complied with, though in an unsatisfactory manner, the independence of the principality was reluctantly recognized on the 20th of February, 1880, by the powers, and in the following year Prince Charles I was proclaimed king.

Now it is evident that the Hay note to these powers which prescribed the terms of Rumanian independence, is an appeal to the most fundamental principle of European diplomacy. That spectre of "universal dominion," which looms terrifying to the several competing nations of Europe, obviously cannot affright us on this side of the Atlantic; hence we are not actively interested in that "balance of power" which the Concert of Europe has long striven to maintain. But still our appeal is to this European Concert to restrain the acts of an independent nation on the continent, so far as such acts menace us. The principle of restraint is distinctively that of European diplomacy. Unquestionably this is a new departure on the part of the United States; and, as we have seen, it is developed from the underlying principle of the original Monroe doctrine, which is the fundamental maxim of our American diplomacy.

Thus we are blending the most essential element of our diplomatic system with that of the Old World. American democracy is uniting its diplomatic forces with that of the more recently developed democracy of Europe to resist the effect of the dwindling residue of that same oppressive system which provoked Monroe's declaration. Along this line we are assuming a share in the diplomatic management of the affairs of the world. We are beginning to blend and harmonize our unit of force with the greater unit of the world. We are actively becoming a world power. Hence the Hay note, as the *Vossische Zeitung* well observed, "represents one of the most interesting documents in contemporary history," and is one of the most remarkable political acts of the present day."

Turning to the internal elements of the diplomatic problem raised by this note, we find that they are by no

means simple. Like most problems in diplomacy, the present one is complex, and conflicting interests and prejudices are contending for supremacy in the outcome.

Within the offending kingdom Hebrew thrift and the borrowing propensities of the ease-loving Rumanian nobility is a prime source of oppressive legislation. Partly this is a vestige of that medieval prejudice against the loaners of ducats which Shakespeare has so aptly portrayed, but chiefly it springs from the instinct of self-preservation: to legally empower the Jews to own land would simply mean that ultimately the title to practically all the real estate would be vested in them. This economic factor and the normally explosive character of the Balkan people are not to be overlooked in judging of the outcome of our appeal to the powers.

In dealing with race prejudice we ourselves are not without experience. Indeed, the position of the European Concert in prescribing the conditions of Rumanian statehood was much like that of the United States in prescribing the terms for the re-admission of certain of our southern states into the union at the close of the civil war. And Rumanian prejudice against the Jews seems to be as deep rooted, though from different motives, as that of the better class in the South against the negroes. In both cases there has been a sad lapse from the intents and hopes of those who fixed the terms of statehood. Of the various laws expressive of Rumanian prejudice against the Jews, the Hay note gives a brief summary, and Rabbi M. Gaster, in the *North American Review* for November, presents a more detailed outline. But it must be remembered that, while many of these legislative acts are aimed directly at the Jews, the present oppression is chiefly one of administrative policy and methods.

The complexity of the problem is further increased by the self-interest of the several powers. Obviously, little can be expected from Russia. Germany is a large holder of Rumanian securities for funds advanced to develop the railway system of the Balkan state, and will therefore hes-



itate to apply any pressure that might indirectly affect values by disturbing internal politics. With France, the principle of equality which her representative urged at the Berlin congress will probably be the controlling one, notwithstanding the strong affinity between the better class of Rumanians and the French.

But to England alone must we look for the most active support in our new departure. British diplomacy has long been active to repress on the continent the exercise of the autocratic system against which our Monroe doctrine was a protest. Related to us by blood and that early political history which developed the principle of civil liberty, and at the same time a member of the European Concert and the most interested sponsor for Rumania's good behavior, England may be relied upon to urge that democratic freedom which alone can make possible equality of opportunity for the Rumanian Jews.

It is reported that the offending kingdom has attempted to forestall any possible diplomatic pressure by refusing passports and otherwise preventing Jewish emigration. But at best this is a temporary expedient, and implies a narrow interpretation of our government's protest, which was "against the treatment to which the Jews of Rumania are subjected, not alone because it has unimpeachable ground to remonstrate against the resultant injury to itself, but in the name of humanity." The official attitude of the European governments in respect to this broad principle of our appeal cannot be known until their formal replies to our protest are received and made public. But, irrespective of the motives which prompted the Hay note and of concrete results therefrom, our appeal to the European principle of restraint is a significant expansion in our diplomatic activity. And the general tone of the European press indicates that the humane motive for this expansion has won for us the moral support of the Old World. To the initial stage of any new departure in diplomacy, such moral support has ever been deemed of great value.

## THE FRENCH MUSEUM OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

LEOPOLD KATSCHER

Visitors to Paris ought not to neglect to pay a visit, at 5 rue Las-Cases, to the *musée social*; an institution which as yet has no parallel in any country. Somewhat similar institutions, however, on a different footing and with smaller means, are soon to be established in New York (through the Social Service League), Budapest, Berlin, and Lyons, while others have recently been called into life at Amsterdam, Vienna, and Munich. The Paris *musée social* is a monument to the philanthropy of its founder, a shining example to philanthropy in other countries, and a testimony of what may be done in a field in which, alas! much too little has as yet been accomplished.

In March, 1892, a *musée-bibliothèque de la participation aux bénéfices, des associations coopératives et des syndicats professionnels* was solemnly opened in the rue de Lufèce at Paris, in the building of the Chamber of Industrial Unions. This collection was formed from sections II and III of the international exhibition of 1889, the exhibits of which sections were handed over to the state and were stored in empty stables for about two-and-a-half years, until the profit-sharing association received permission from the government to bring them again before the public and make them permanently useful. The new institution's scope and objects are best shown by an extract from the circular which the founders and managers addressed to cooperative societies, trade unions, profit-sharing firms, economic associations, philanthropists, writers on social reform, etc.:—

"Will you have the kindness to facilitate for us the completion of our collection, and of our proposed technical catalogue, by sending us your statutes, rules, and annual reports, as well as any other class publications? We will incorporate them in our collection of books, catalogue them, and make them accessible on the spot to all

interested persons. . . . The second section embraces in its studies all forms of labor remuneration—salaries, wages, *métayage*, sliding scales, profit-sharing, etc. The third division illustrates plans, institutions, and systems which our promoters would like to suggest to the workmen's unions, especially the following:

"1. Apprenticeship in private workshops or technical schools. 2. Methods of helping the unemployed to situations gratuitously. 3. Mutual insurance against accidents and dangers in work; measures for the prevention of these dangers; life insurance. 4. Mutual aid societies and provision for old age. 5. Societies for cooperative consumption. 6. Cheap dwellings. 7. Friendly societies for the advance of money, and agricultural credit societies. 8. The settling of differences by arbitration. 9. The introduction of especial rewards for long and faithful services. 10. Social hygiene. 11. The question of the weekly day of rest.

"We beg all class societies and competent persons to send us any publications and information on these points. We will arrange them systematically so as to create an exceedingly useful center for the study of these questions. We ask for moral—not pecuniary—support in our work of social conciliation. . . . "

How modest was the extent of this revival of a remarkable collection of means for the regulation of labor! "If the army and navy, industries, history, natural science, etc.," wrote a Paris daily, "have their museums, the study of social reform ought also to have its museum." The scantiness of the means and the poverty and smallness of the establishment appeared to make the greatness of the object aimed at still more striking. But things were soon to change. Almost immediately after the opening of the institution, the government resolved to consider it as merely provisional, and to call into life, as soon as possible, a worthy *musée d'économie sociale*. Already, in March, 1893, they introduced a bill to that effect, requiring a preliminary credit of 47,500 francs. The matter had so far progressed that its final realization was imminent, when suddenly Count Chambrun (who died in 1899, aged 78), a well-known humanitarian, stepped forward in May, 1894, and made the official scheme superfluous by offering to found *at his own cost* a social museum on a much larger scale, and to endow it permanently with sufficiently large means. To the 200,000 francs, of which the *musée-bibliothèque* was pos-



sessed, this nobleman further added the gift of his splendid house, No. 5, rue Las-Cases. Then with all speed he procured for his creation official "recognition of public utility," a recognition just as highly prized in France as it is difficult to obtain. In submitting the rules, he wrote:—

"Nothing could more effectively withstand the influence of utopian ideas, or better serve the cause of social peace, than such a permanent exposition and public illustration of the excellent results of private initiative in the effort to raise the moral and physical condition of the masses *without prejudice to the rights of property and the freedom of labor*. On the contrary, experience teaches us that both these principles may be zealously adhered to, thanks to the powerful influence of association and reciprocity, and to the institutions for thrift and old-age pensions."

The solemn opening of the new museum took place in March, 1895, and three months later Count Chambrun presented it with a house worth over a million and a half francs. By this, together with other resources, a yearly expenditure of about 100,000 francs was made possible. After that, the noble founder spent in addition large sums for special purposes, to which we shall refer later. First I must quote the most characteristic passages of the constitution of the "Society of the Social Museum."

"The object of the museum society is to place at the disposal of the public, free of charge, good advice and helpful information, and also the records, models, plans, regulations, statutes, etc., of these social institutions and organizations which have for their object the improvement of the material and moral well-being of the working classes. All political and religious discussions are excluded. . . . The chief means employed by the society are: 1. A permanent exhibition of social science. 2. A collection of books and a hall of work open free of charge. 3. The imparting of information on social subjects to persons interested. 4. Expert advice with reference to proposed institutions. 5. The inauguration of courses of instruction, lectures, and demonstrations to explain the exhibited objects and to make social institutions known. 6. Missions for study and investigation at home and abroad. 7. Publications on the doings of the museum and on the material collected by it. 8. The distribution of medals and prizes for noteworthy work of an especial kind. . . . As the society has a sufficient income, its members need not pay subscriptions. . . ."

Here we have a great center for theoretical and practical inquiry into social subjects, and one which is strictly impartial and does not wish to force upon any the choice of a definite course of action, but will only enable them to find their way in a course chosen by themselves. Referring to this point Emile Cheysson has very rightly remarked: "In the enormous sphere of social science the patrons of the museum can select for themselves the institutions they find suitable, and the museum limits itself to the task of making them acquainted with the already existing applications of the same idea, the solutions and results obtained by others, with the dangers to be avoided, and with everything else that would help those interested to arrive at a clear judgment as to the right measures to be taken. The information and advice given will not be of a theoretically *doctrinaire* kind, but will rest on facts, observations, and calculations. There will be no question of dogmatic partisanship for this or that system."

The machinery with which the museum carries on its work is tolerably extensive. It has permanent correspondents in nearly all lands. It has a large technical board of management under the direction of Professor Leopold Mabillean. It has a leading administrative committee to which persons of distinction belong, and also seven "*sections*," dealing with—(a) correspondence with the socio-economical societies, (b) the conditions of agricultural labor, (c) trade unions and cooperative societies, (d) methods of insurance for workmen, (e) industrial arrangements for the well-being of workmen, (f) questions of law, (g) the instituting of investigations, missions, and specialized research. The public obtain access to the material thus acquired by means of lectures, the publication of pamphlets and books, the giving of information and advice, finally, the library and permanent exhibition.

The center of gravity of this useful institution's activity lies in its work of giving information and advice. If the question is about some subject or matter already known, the secretarial department gives an immediate an-

swer. But if the question treats of something new or of a specialty, it is handed over for examination and report to the *section* concerned. Laborers, employers, officials, artisans, farmers, societies, authors, etc., may put questions, and answers are given every day in writing or by word of mouth. Up to the end of March, 1900, over 3200 pieces of information were given by word of mouth, and over 1200 in writing; the latter dealt with questions of housing (58), cooperation (258), strikes, insurance (188), wages, old age pensions (79), profit-sharing (27), accidents to workmen, savings banks, mutual aid associations (142), school matters (9), credit (56), methods of charity and relief (49), alcoholism (10), arbitration (11), etc., etc.

*Délégués* are appointed to assist the director in treating questions of industrial and agricultural labor conditions respectively. Their task is chiefly to keep in touch with employers and with workmen's associations, as well as with workmen's exchanges, to organize lectures, to establish inquiries into the most important trades, to search the class press for the purpose of filing *dossiers* on noteworthy economical events, to take part in foreign and home labor congresses and to draw up reports on their observations. The task of the permanent foreign correspondents consists in supplying news and comments on the social movement in their respective lands, and on new industrial arrangements or laws. If a question demands thorough and searching study, they draw up detailed reports. They also help in the choice of books to be bought for the library.

The missions and investigations of the museum are of great importance. Both are carried on in the most strictly scientific manner and with complete impartiality. Their results are made use of in lectures, publications, files (*dossiers*), and information on important events in industrial or agricultural life. These operations often throw a bright light on facts and opinions that have been misunderstood, and they are altogether of high practical value. This especially holds good of the foreign missions which are sent out for the study of the respective social conditions in the differ-



ent countries; up to the present time, for example, for inquiring into German agrarianism, British trade-unionism, the American labor situation, the Italian credit and cooperative institutions, the Westphalian working population, the industrial rise of Germany, the conditions of labor in Australia and the Transvaal. The museum publishes a comprehensive work on the results of each mission, in its collection of "*bibliothèque du musée social*."

The institution further publishes what were formerly called *circulaires* (a sort of pamphlet), and which have for the last two years settled down into a regular monthly (*Le musée social*), which deals partly in articles, partly in notes, with the more important results of the museum's investigations and informations, as well as with the foreign correspondents' reports. The materials which are not utilized by publication in this or that way are collected in files (*dossiers*), which are incorporated in the archives or the library. Each file consists of newspaper articles, reports and other matter systematically arranged on some interesting event in the contemporary labor world. These files often facilitate the researches of the specialist in an extraordinary manner. They are exceedingly numerous and embrace most countries. In other respects, too, the library is large and systematically arranged. It contains, besides these *dossiers*, about 13,000 class-works, and their number is continually increasing. Many hundreds of socio-economical periodicals in all the most important languages are also to be found there.

The plethora of inscriptions on the wall-panels of the festival hall further serve the objects of the museum. Under headings such as "Laborers' Unions," "Labor Contracts," "Cooperative Societies," "The Housing Question," "Hygiene," "Aid and Insurance Systems," "Strikes," "State Interference," "Arrangements for the Welfare of the Working Classes," etc., these walls exhibit a good many short aphoristic bits of advice on important and interesting questions. These excellent panel inscriptions, together with the objects taken over from the earlier *musée-bibliothèque*, form

the fundamental basis of a permanent exposition of social science.

Count Chambrun devoted considerable sums to awards of prizes and premiums. On May 3, 1896, there was a distribution of pension books, entitling to annuities of 200 francs each, among twenty-eight worthy industrial workmen of over sixty years of age, who had been in the service of one and the same firm for at least thirty years, or had been proved to be particularly meritorious. Another presentation of premiums took place on October 31, 1897, when those twenty-seven agricultural laborers' unions which had shown the greatest success in promoting the welfare of agricultural laborers, received rewards of from 1000 to 2000 francs each, while fifty-three others were given medals of honor. On October 30, 1898, twenty-eight select agricultural laborers were presented with annuity books of 200 francs a year. The election on this occasion was carried out through the unions that had received prizes in 1897.

No less than 75,000 francs were spent by the late noble count on competitions of a literary character. He fixed the subjects himself. For 1897 profit-sharing was the subject, for 1899 workmen's and employers' associations, and for 1900, methods of insurance for workmen. Twenty-five thousand francs were assigned to each of these subjects. Twenty-three books were sent in on profit-sharing; the four which received prizes were published at the count's expense. The second competition resulted in the giving in of nineteen works, five of which were singled out for awards; these will issue from the press shortly. The result of the third competition has not been published as yet.

Perhaps my succinct account of the ideal way in which the excellent founder and supporter of the *musée social* spent his money may induce some wealthy and philanthropic reader, à la Carnegie, to "go and do likewise." Meanwhile, miniature imitations of the Parisian model have recently been decided upon in Amsterdam, Lyons, Berlin, Budapest, and Munich.

## ESSENTIALS OF LABOR UNION SUCCESS

The trend of modern progress is obviously towards more perfect industrial organization. The day of small doing is past. The existence of individual hand labor and small capitalists means using crude tools and wasteful methods, which always require much labor for little result and high prices with low wages. The highest application of science to production means large corporations. On the labor side of the problem, the trade union has shown itself to be the natural economic type of organization. It is to distribution what the corporation is to production. Whether these two types of organization will fill their natural function in the industrial progress of the future will depend very largely on the wisdom with which they are led. If their respective activities are directed along the lines of economic production, rendering superior service to the public while yielding profits to the investors, they will earn and receive the support of the public and soon become accepted and established institutions. But if they abuse the power of organization and use it for mere personal aggrandizement, to the injury of the public, they may create a storm that will be disastrous both to them and to society and make their coming a misfortune.

As the future safety of capital is really in the keeping of corporations, depending upon the sanity of their management, so the condition of labor and the opportunities for its progressive improvement are largely in the keeping of the trade unions. The responsibility for labor's share in the industrial progress of the future is largely with the trade unions. If they are to exercise the influence they ought to and can, they must rise to the plane of full economic equality with organized capital. This depends largely upon the character of union leadership and the sound economic education of workingmen through union sources.

Much of the unfortunate experience of trade unions



has been due to poor leadership; and this is not surprising in view of the narrow conception among laborers of the intellectual and moral equipment necessary for trade union leadership. It has always been an unfortunate characteristic of workingmen that, while they ask for high wages, they are unwilling to pay high wages to their own representatives. Some improvement in this respect has taken place during the last ten or fifteen years, but it is still the prevalent notion that those who work to advance labor interests are but scantily worthy of their hire.

In order to get first-class leaders the unions must pay first-class salaries. That is the only way the corporations can enlist capable men in their service, and trade unions can accomplish the same result only by doing likewise. It is not essential that the president of the national labor organization should be taken from the bench; he should not be elected because he is the best shoemaker or the finest carpenter, but because of his knowledge of and ability to understand and present the principles and interests involved in trade union purposes and policies.

Another step, and a very necessary one, in the greater perfection of labor organizations, is to make economic education a definite feature of the trade unions. This does not mean that a schoolmaster shall be called in, but it means that the study of economic principles as related to wages, capital and the community shall be a constant feature of trade union work. In any other department of life, systematic study and instruction are regarded as necessary to sound information and trustworthy thinking. If this method were systematically applied it would be only a few years before trade unions would furnish a body of men who could present the interests of labor and the economic justification of its demands with an ability equal to that of the representatives of capital, and whose influence would command the confidence and respect of the community. These men would soon become authorities on matters affecting labor, not only for laborers, but for publicists and statesmen. They would thus exercise an in-

direct as well as direct influence upon the public policies of the nation.

This would necessarily tend to eliminate rashness from the trade unions' procedure, and would make them a rational force in the industrial world, to be courted and encouraged instead of feared by the public. Every step of progress in this direction would tend to make it more and more difficult for employers to refuse to recognize unions and treat openly and frankly with their representatives. But this can only come in a full and unreserved sense when the unions have learned to discipline themselves into a complete recognition of their own responsibility and maintain the absolute integrity of their contracts. The word of a union should be as sacred and as literally lived up to as if it were a financial contract, the violation of which involved a serious penalty.

All this would do much to make feasible the next great step in industrial organization, namely, a mutual union of employers and laborers upon a basis of full equality and responsibility. It is well known that most strikes are the result of passion or misunderstanding at some point. Either one side or the other loses its head and bad blood and irrational conduct follow; but in the settlement reason and compromise must ultimately be employed. What is needed, and must some day come, is a common effort to understand the situation, *before* instead of after the strike. This end would be accomplished by a mutual organization, to which all matters of dispute should be submitted before any action is taken on either side, and whose decision should be final. Of course this requires that employers fully recognize as equals the representatives of organized labor, and also that organized labor shall have a clear economic conception of the rights and interests of capital and the sacredness of contracts. This result will come because it is in the nature of progress, but how soon it will come depends largely upon the progress made by the trade unions themselves towards higher standards of economic education, leadership and responsibility.

## THE INVESTMENT BANKER AS AN EDUCATOR

GEORGE CAREY

The investment banker of the present day, with no conscious educational intent, is nevertheless spreading far and wide a practical knowledge of current history. He is teaching people to observe, to make comparisons, to distinguish between the real and the ephemeral, and finally to draw logical conclusions through the analysis of figures tabulated from actual experience.

The investment banker is a merchant. His market is growing world-wide. It is confined to no particular city or country, being limited only by the absence of surplus purchasing power. In order to reach this vast market, after the possibilities of personal acquaintance have been exhausted, the banker must resort to advertisement, which the dignity of his profession demands shall be achieved mainly through the gratuitous distribution of something every one desires; *i. e.*, information. The investment banker has no secret purposes to be concealed, no patents necessitating protection from infringement. His reputation gains enviable stability in proportion to the frankness of his methods and the unimpeachable clearness with which he demonstrates the intrinsic worth of the properties for whose obligation he is standing sponsor. Although, to a degree, inevitably sensible of the fluctuations in securities notable for their speculative nature, his operations should be far removed from all enterprises not based upon incontrovertible soundness. To win that confidence from the public which is necessary to his being, uncertainty must, in so far as is attainable, be eliminated from his undertakings. Hence his willingness to invite scrutiny resulting in an endeavor to accumulate data that may be used as convincing argument as well as permissible advertising. His office is a depot for the garnering of facts, economic, industrial, political; and these are again bestowed upon the public in



the form of comprehensive circular and instructive pamphlet.

An actual insight into the methods of the investment banker in the conduct of his business may serve to indicate his status as an educational force in the community. Suppose, for example, that a great railroad corporation has determined upon a new issue of bonds for purpose of acquisition, or extension, or improvement, and has negotiated its sale to an investment banker, the latter's intention being to offer them in turn to the investing public. Having satisfied himself of the corporation's solvency and responsibility through his own familiarity with its history, augmented by legal advice, and frequently also by expert opinion, his next step is to convince his customers of the desirability of the investment he is recommending. Skilled statistical clerks are directed to prepare a circular setting forth the merits of the securities in question. Every known source is drawn upon for general information and specific figures. Often the investor is furnished with a history of the company's operations since the day of its incorporation, together with the names and standing of its officers and directors. The nature of the country through which the road passes is described in context subjoining, in many cases, an elaborately colored map whereon are plainly shown the portions mortgaged and the sequence of the various issues.

Nor are the sources whence the company's revenues accrue forgotten. The prospective purchaser learns whether the road is chiefly dependent upon freight or passenger charges; whether upon long hauls or short hauls. If dependent upon freight, whether upon agricultural products, or manufactures, or ores. He is let into the secrets of future development: the selection of town sites, the opening of mines, the establishment of factories, the acquisition of additional properties looking to the enhancement of general values and earning capacity. Tabulated statistics are supplied him indicating earnings per mile, earnings per share, and bonded indebtedness per mile of road. Contrast is also

drawn for his satisfaction with the capital stock, earnings, efficiency and finances of competing companies. Figures given must approximate exactness, for the investor once misled, whether intentionally or otherwise, becomes suspicious and shy of the lure. It is necessary therefore to exercise no little ingenuity in conceiving a plan of presentation which shall adhere to facts and yet offer attractive inducement to the most conservative purchasers. An instance of this is the scheme recently formulated by the fiscal agents of the Union Pacific Railroad Company in bringing out the collateral trust bonds of the Oregon Short Line Railroad. Here subscribers are entitled, in addition to the regularly authorized interest of four per cent. upon the bonds, to a participation, in the form of extra dividends, in the earnings of the Northern Securities Company's stock pledged as collateral under the mortgage.

It would seem obvious from the foregoing that the investment banker, who makes it a point to take the public into his confidence, and to elucidate in concise and readily comprehended fashion the intricacies of finance, is decidedly a factor in education. He is doing much to mold public opinion regarding most weighty matters in that he is striving to clarify public understanding. It may be said that all these facts and figures are easily to be gleaned from the financial journals. The answer is that the reliable financial journals reach comparatively few, this being especially true of small investors. Again, financial writers are apt to take for granted a technical investment knowledge that frequently does not exist. The banker, on the other hand, must observe the utmost discretion in this regard. His circulars are usually followed by detailed letters wherein, in the case of certain individual investors, he premises no previous familiarity whatever, on the part of the recipient, with the subject under discussion. In other words, he is a merchant teacher who desires to impart understanding to his customer pupil in the simplest, clearest manner, in order that the latter may speedily arrive at a point of appreciation of the prospective purchase. With-

out his realizing it, the investor is given a brief combination course of instruction in economics, physical and general geography, finance, and business method. Both parties are prompted by instincts of self interest. A business proposition has been made, to be accepted, or rejected. In either event the suggestive value of the circular and letter remains to provoke discussion and, perhaps, investigation. A new point of view has been presented arousing new processes of reasoning. The investor begins to consider cause and effect, to comprehend in a different light the mutually introactive forces at play among the infinite ramifications of the industrial scheme. There are hundreds of moderately prosperous small shop-keepers and thrifty farmers and mechanics who yearly amass modest sums applicable to investment. The major portion of these funds has hitherto gone to swell the deposits of savings banks, through lack of local investment opportunity, or because of ignorance of fields yielding richer returns. It is to these people that particular reference is made above.

It is surprising to note the growing astuteness in investment matters. A little questioning will generally elicit the information that this ready conversance with financial topics, this unexpected awareness of proposed or completed consolidation of properties, is largely due to circular letters or pamphlets sent out by banking firms, or to hints dropped by traveling bond salesmen. These latter, by the way, are becoming more and more numerous each year. Nearly every investment firm employs two to three, and sometimes six to eight traveling salesmen, whose duty it is to scour the land in quest of uninvested funds. Their samples consist of descriptive circulars and statistical matter concerning every conceivable enterprise which may be likely to prove of interest. Preferences in securities vary as widely as do tastes in haberdashery. Men are influenced in this respect by their business affinities, which may have brought them in contact with a certain class of corporate undertaking; by the nature of the idle funds under their disposition; by inherited prejudice, and by what other men, of



more pronounced initiative, buy. The bond salesman endeavors to keep his chief in touch with these peculiarities. Local market conditions are pregnant with meaning to him, and may often be turned to good account in the home office, or in adjacent territories. So news of contemplated changes, of combinations, or original methods, is borne along as the wind wafts the seeds. The managing bond man at home learns that X in Ohio wishes sound industrial bonds which will net him a good rate of interest; that Y in Pennsylvania likes gilt-edged railroad bonds, or guaranteed stocks; that Z in Massachusetts, who is ultra conservative, declares for municipal or federal government securities. Letters to accord with the lines suggested are forthwith dictated and sent.

This brings us to the educational elements involved in the negotiation of the latter class of obligations. The investor who is asked to buy the bonds, or corporate stock, of a municipal corporation, desires to learn a number of things. He may wish to know whether the city, or county, or village has ever defaulted principal or interest; what the population is; its character; the nationalities chiefly represented; what industries thrive therein; the assessed valuation of property and the ratio of the latter to the total net debt; the law regulating bond issues; the financial and governmental methods of the political party in control; and, finally, what statutes, if any, exist whereby he may recover in the event of default.

American bankers have, of late years, placed among their customers many millions of dollars in the obligations of England, of Russia, of Germany, and notably of Mexico. The shrewd investor will no more accept the pledge of a nation with whose financial responsibility he is unacquainted than he will endorse the note of an individual who is unknown to him. Preliminary, then, to the placement of foreign securities are instructive discussions of international questions, of alien finance, of internal governmental policies, of monetary exchange rates; in a word, of general economics.

The investment banker is the intermediary between idle capital and undeveloped enterprise. It is to his profit to bring the two together. Each is becoming daily more dependent upon him. Busy corporation officials have neither time nor opportunity to keep in close and continuous touch with the great world of investors. Yet without them corporations could not live. A manufacturing plant is to be enlarged. Lesser companies are to be absorbed by purchase, or by exchange of securities upon a pro rata valuation. Plans await consummation which will insure reduced operating expense accounts, and greater proportionate return upon investment. New cash working capital is wanted. Need of funds is imperative, and the banker stands ready to find them, provided certain conditions are fulfilled. Of growing importance among these conditions today is frank publicity in statement of account on the part of the corporation seeking assistance. The banker must have data to show his customers, and these data must not be garbled, or glossed over with specious and confusing bookkeeping systems. Hence the banker is educating the public to condemn obscurity in matters of gross and net earnings, operating expenses, balance sheets, and actual conduct of affairs. A notable instance of the realization of the weight and meaning of this outside pressure for an exact accounting has lately been evidenced by the greatest of all private corporations: the United States Steel Corporation. President Schwab has caused to be exhibited statements minute in every particular, and has besides published under affidavit a detailed enumeration of the company's assets and their cash equivalents.

A tendency toward the establishment of business principles upon a sounder basis is here manifest. It rests upon purely selfish and practical foundations, no doubt. Yet at the same time there is evidenced an undercurrent along ethical lines, the potential value of which is not to be underestimated. These most desirable results may be attributed in a very large measure to the educational element inherent in the investment banker's relation to his customers.

## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

"'Whenever you see an extraordinary statement under big headlines, wait until the next day,' says the latest commentator on the newspapers. The same remark applies to individuals. Beware of big heads!"—*Boston Herald*.

THIS IS CAPITAL as far as it goes. Big heads are as bad as big headlines; but the fact remains that the *Herald* should either justify its sensational account of the ten industries destroyed by "trusts" in the town of Kearney, Nebraska, or apologize to its readers for publishing such audacious lies.

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MR. PLATT should not be reelected as United States senator from New York, because he is not a statesman. He represents no ideas of public policy, and no principle either of party doctrine or public welfare. He is a manipulator of politics and a perverter of the machinery of representation. Neither his ideas, personal influence nor methods are helpful to the republican party or creditable to the United States senate. He is efficient chiefly as a bleeder of corporations, a trader in nominations, and a lobbying manipulator of legislation. He stands for the worst phases of political life and is a discredit to the empire state.

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THE PENNSYLVANIA and New York Central railroads have announced their intention of raising the wages ten per cent. of all employees receiving less than \$200 a month. This will distribute several millions a year among the employees of the Pennsylvania railroad, and similarly among those of the New York Central. It may be expected that the other great railroads, and for that matter practically all railroads, will soon follow this excellent example.

It is now in order for Mr. Tom L. Johnson, or Mr. Bryan, or Mr. Cleveland, and other prophets of despair, to announce that the poor are growing poorer, and that the laborers are worse off than ever before; that capital is swal-



lowing all the benefits of prosperity, while the laborers perform all the drudgery.

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THE LABOR UNIONS of Schenectady, N. Y., are showing what fools and tyrants workingmen can be when they get the power. It is the right of any association to decide that it will not have soldiers for members, but the organization that will demand that a man be discharged because he is a member of a military organization is simply an organized persecution, and if any community were in the control of an organized power dominated by such a spirit it would not be fit to live in. There is no form of despotism, either economic, political, social, or religious, that has ever shown a meaner spirit than is exhibited by this Schenectady labor union. Such performances are a disgrace to organized labor and conclusively prove that labor unions have much to learn before they can be safely trusted to control the destinies of labor.

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EVIDENCE OF Cuba's prosperity is coming from all directions. The British minister in Cuba, in his report on the condition of the island, says:

"None of the evils so confidently predicted by the advocates of 'reciprocity' has come to pass. No sugar estates of any importance were compelled to stop, and the recent crisis, far from being disastrous to the island's prosperity, really has been of immense service to Cuba in teaching the planters to be economical in the management of their plantations, thus lowering the cost of production until it is thought that plantation expenses will not exceed one cent a pound.

"Under the present conditions Cuba has little or nothing to fear from the competition of other countries in the production of sugar, whether cane or beet."

In view of these facts, it will require some hardihood for a member of congress to pretend, without blushing, that Cuban industry is being ruined or her people starving on our account. This talk about the ruin of Cuba is not and never was true, and the fallacy and hypocrisy of it are being revealed by every-day experience.

THE APPOINTMENT of the coal strike commission seems to be a matter of sore annoyance to the *New York Sun*. It cannot quite fly in the face of all sense and decency and denounce the idea of the commission, but it takes every opportunity to belittle it. In a recent editorial it takes exception to Mr. Mitchell's remark that he conferred with the president, and reminds him that he only conferred with "Theodore Roosevelt, the citizen who now occupies the office of president of the United States."

With all respect to the memory of Charles A. Dana, this is poor stuff; it is small quibbling over words. Everybody knows, because Mr. Roosevelt frankly said, that he did not act in his official capacity as president, because he had no power to do so; but the fact remains that his action had all the influence of an official act. Notwithstanding that the corporations declared there was nothing to arbitrate, for which the *Sun* loudly praised them, when "Theodore Roosevelt, the citizen who now occupies the office of president of the United States," decided on a certain course they changed their minds and concluded that there was everything to arbitrate.

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BY WAY OF showing the coal operators' sympathy for the poor, Wayne MacVeagh asked Mr. Mitchell if he did not know that in demanding an increase of pay the miners were inflicting hardships upon hundreds of thousands of the poorest people in our cities by forcing up the price of coal.

It would be difficult to think of anything more hypocritical than this. Mr. MacVeagh ought to know that the ten or fifteen cents a ton increase of price, which would fully cover the miners' demand, would be absolutely imperceptible in the retail price to the hundreds of thousands of poor in the large cities, to whom he so pathetically refers. Moreover, the very worst known way of lowering prices to the consumer is by cutting the wages of the producing laborers. This is the method of barbarism, which would soon takes all of us to zero; and Mr. MacVeagh ought to

be ashamed of himself for suggesting it. The remedy for the poor people in the large cities is not to have the wages of miners reduced, but to have their own wages increased, and their capacity to buy coal and to live decently improved.

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"GUNTON'S MAGAZINE finds a key to the history of the last two great strikes in the fact that in the one Shaffer was incompetent and Schwab able—the operators won. In the other Mitchell was able and Baer incompetent—the miners won. Is it true that we are approaching that final condition when the leaders will be everything and the masses nothing?"—*Times-Union*, Jacksonville, Fla.

NOT AT ALL; quite the contrary. There may be exceptions, but the tendency under elective methods is for leaders to represent the followers. Able, characterful leadership will generally imply intelligent followers. In both corporations and labor unions the more intelligent and discriminating those who elect become, the more statesmanlike and rational will the selected leaders be; otherwise, ignorance would be superior to intelligence.

Oh no; there is not the least danger that "the leaders will be everything and the masses nothing," if only the condition of the masses continues to improve, and to that wise leadership constantly contributes. In every department of life, in order to have improvement and progress, we must have leaders, not bosses. Mitchell and Schwab have the characteristics of leaders; Baer and Shaffer have all the earmarks of small-caliber petulant bosses.

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THE NEW YORK *Press* seems to be elated over the fact that the tin workers' union has voted to accept a reduction of wages. It calls it "A Labor Union's Great Victory."

If a reduction of wages is a victory for labor, why does *The Press* grow frantic in its appeal to laborers to vote against Bryan or Cleveland, whose election would insure a reduction of wages of the whole nation at a swoop? *The Press* asks the workingmen to support the republican party on the specific claim that protection will give higher wages.



The tin industry is highly protected; it was brought into existence by protection. Now it has compelled its laborers to accept a cut in wages, and *The Press* rejoices and calls it "A Labor Union's Great Victory;" and the laborers are expected to appreciate this as good doctrine in their interests.

There never was a cut in wages that was a victory for labor, or a good thing for the country. If the tin industry went into the combine with too much water to pay dividends, it is the water and not the wages that should have been reduced. If on the basis of honest economic business the duty on tin is not high enough, then it should be raised, and not the wages cut; but least of all should a protectionist paper that proclaims from the housetop its interest in high wages for American labor rejoice over a cut in wages. If, with high prosperity, protection will not protect wages from being cut in order to meet foreign competition, then it fails to protect.

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IN A RECENT address on trusts, before the Cambridge Club in Boston, Mr. Gunton said that: "There are no trusts; there never were but a few and they have all been dissolved; we now have only corporations. Some of these are large, to be sure, but they are just corporations."

This statement of a simple, well-known fact seems to have greatly troubled the Boston newspapers. The *Herald*, the *Globe*, *Advertiser* and *Post* have all been struggling with the problem ever since. Of course none of them denied the fact, but they all tenaciously cling to the word "trust" all the same.

The *Herald* says: "The chief law officer of the federal government says 'trust' is the proper name for them, and the law-making authority of the government has named them thus."

Well, what of it? Suppose Mr. Knox had said that the *Boston Herald* is a trust; would that make it one? The chief law-maker of the federal government may do many things, but he cannot make two and two into five, nor can he make

a corporation into a trust by simply calling it one. But why all this fuss? Why do the newspapers insist upon retaining the false name of "trust" instead of the correct name, corporation? It is really because it makes better flaming headlines. If they can only call a concern a trust, it is more sensational than to call it a large corporation. It is evident that the Boston papers care more for a sensational phrase than an accurate statement. This is only an evidence of the tendency to substitute exaggeration and inflammatory writing for exact statement and rational discussion.

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THE NEW YORK *Journal of Commerce* of November 18th is responsible for the encouraging news that Cuba is not going to ruin after all, but on the contrary can produce sugar for the European market at a good profit. It says:

"Sugar can be produced in the island of Cuba from  $3\frac{1}{4}$  to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  rials per arroba, or say from 1.62 to 1.75 cents Spanish gold per lb.;  $3\frac{1}{4}$  rials is equivalent to about 7s. per 112 lbs. and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  rials to about 7s. 6d., while the actual quotation in London to-day is 9s. for centrifugal, polarization 96, so that there is a margin in favor of the Cuban production of about 1s. 6d. per quintal."

This is exactly what might have been expected, indeed it is only a part of what has all the time existed. It has never been true for a moment that Cuban planters were going to ruin or that her population was in danger of starvation. Of course, the standard of living and social conditions of the working people of Cuba are poor and low, but that is a part of their civilization. Similar conditions in this country might be characterized as starvation, but this condition has not been worse by virtue of Cuba's relations with the United States than it was before, but very much better, and it is improving as time goes on. The obvious reason of all this is that the people of Cuba are not now harrassed by the havoc or the expense of war, but can devote themselves to industrial pursuits, raising all the sugar they can produce, with the certainty of selling every pound of it. In the face of this, those who pretend to raise a hue

and cry about our moral duty to Cuba are exciting mere political fustian. Such talk should have no place in the serious consideration of responsible statesmen.

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THE FOLLOWING is one of the ways by which the *Boston Herald* seeks to get even with the editor of this Magazine, for having exposed its imaginary yarn about the "trusts" killing ten industries in a small town in Nebraska:

"The independent man is the man who has a good income. You never can enslave the rich man and you can never give freedom to the poor man. If you want to find a man who doesn't dare to have a political opinion it is the little man who has to go to a banker to indorse his notes. The man who is least free is the man with the precarious income. I don't care whether it is large or small.' If such ideas did not animate the present day; if they were not uttered as unanswerable wisdom, or place this age on the lowest of all bases, their un-Americanism might pass along with other follies unnoticed. But in this utterance of a speaker on the 'trusts' and their beneficence to this country, there sounds a false note that sets the teeth on edge. In a few words he has underscored a line that fate, maybe, is drawing deeper and deeper between the classes and emphasizes at the expense of the praise of American prosperity the power of money, money, money. That this trite sentiment, 'you can never enslave the rich man and you can never give freedom to the poor man,' was received by his audience with 'applause' is further evidence of the poison breeding between the relations that now exist unchallenged. In every grade of society, in all ranks, there is but one thought, but one cry, but one ambition, but one comparison."

We plead guilty to each indictment. The quoted passage is correctly transcribed from the Boston address, and "was received by his audience with applause" because the audience knew it was true. The *Herald* is the only one that cannot see the point. Everybody but the *Herald* knows that poverty is the source of slavery and that wealth is the foundation of freedom. Everybody but the *Herald* knows that you cannot enslave the rich and you cannot give much freedom to the very poor. Everybody but the *Herald* knows that the least free man in the country is the man with the precarious income, who knows not whether he can pay his board bill or his rent next month. Every-



body but the *Herald* knows that the people in this country who can be influenced least of all by intimidation are the well-paid, permanently employed mechanics of the country.

There is not a large corporation in this country that can intimidate its employees in their voting, but there are hordes of small shopkeepers and dependent business men who are under obligations to bankers for privileges and to large dealers for credit, and who dare have no political opinion contrary to those from whom they receive these privileges. All this is commonplace; everybody knows it but the *Boston Herald*. High wages and permanent employment insure an ever-increasing amount of personal freedom in the community. Not to know that poverty and precarious employment are the most depressing and enslaving conditions is not to know the first element of societary law; and to question the fact that wealth gives freedom and that high wages and permanent employment are the very essence of social progress and personal independence is to be utterly unfitted seriously to discuss great public questions, to say nothing of leading public opinion.

## THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers to them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

### QUESTION BOX

#### Post Office vs. Private Industry Employees

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Is it not a fact that the post office employees form one of the best-treated, most contented and self-respecting labor groups in the country? And is it not also a fact that the interests of government employees like these can be far more effectively protected through the pressure of public opinion upon those in authority than under any kind of private industry? A. D.

No. Post office employees, or for that matter government employees generally, are no better treated or more respected, and often not so much so, as employees of private concerns. Indeed, government employees are frequently somewhat menial. They are less likely to have opinions and be active, useful citizens. They watch their superiors almost with fear and trembling. If under a republican administration the employee is a democrat, he must keep perfectly mum, and vice versa. While that would not be legitimate cause for removal, it is a practical cause for offence, and will usually be made a practical reason for creating a vacancy. Indeed, it is almost one of the rules of the civil service that the employees of the government shall not exhibit pernicious activity, which can be interpreted to mean that if they do not act the right way they must not act at all. A woman in the civil service was recently removed

by Secretary Root because she wrote a letter expressing her opinion of our policy in the Philippines. She would not have run any risk of discharge for expressing any such opinion if she had been an employee of a private concern.

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### How Will Child Labor Be Abolished?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I notice that considerable headway is being made in the child labor agitation in the South. Some political platforms there are declaring against child labor, and the southern press quite largely denounces it. Does not this indicate, in your judgment, that the reform will in all probability come along state rather than national lines?

E. M. M.

The restriction of child labor in factories to some reasonable age limit is sure to come. It is so necessary to the ordinary amenities of life that it cannot long be resisted. In the nature of the case, children must be protected against unlimited employment, and educational opportunity be provided. If this is not done voluntarily by the corporations, it will be done by legislation, and if the influence of the corporations over state legislation is sufficiently great to prevent it then it will surely come through the larger movement of national legislation. No plea of profits, or sectional feeling, or state rights, or antagonism to unions, can permanently prevent this much needed reform.

For some time it has seemed as if national influence would have to accomplish it, but more recent indications are that it will come in the South, as it has in the other states, by local forces and state legislation. It will come much quicker that way, and for many reasons it is much better that it should. At any rate, the day of national interference will be postponed much longer if the states take decent action upon the subject. But unlimited child-labor in factories can no more continue, with the progress in other directions, than could slavery; in fact, it is a phase of the same prob-



lem, and it is a very wholesome sign that the press of the South, and in some instances political parties, as well as the labor unions, women's clubs and other social movements, are beginning to recognize the necessity of taking action on the subject.

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### Compulsory Labor Arbitration

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—What do you consider the most important objections to compulsory arbitration of labor disputes? Do you think the law could be enforced (made to operate effectively) in respect to both labor and capital? If it does not operate effectively on both, would it not be class legislation and unconstitutional? D. R.

The first objection to compulsory arbitration is that, to the extent it succeeded, it would destroy all individual right in an industrial controversy. Under such a law, if enforced according to the intention, if the laborers refused to work for the wages decided upon, employers could go to the courts and compel them to do so; and contrariwise, if employers refused to pay a certain amount, they could be coerced into doing it by the courts. This would destroy the right of either side to bargain in the matter.

The second objection is that even if the courts should decide the question it would be well-nigh impossible to enforce the decision. For instance, if an employer could not without loss pay a certain wage, it would be impossible for all the courts, jailers, and even soldiers, to compel him to do so; and on the other hand it would be equally impossible, certainly impracticable, to compel laborers to work for a given wage if they really refused to do so. The law may prevent them from working, yet there is no amount of law yet invented that could compel a man to work if he was willing to take the consequences of not working.

Oh no; compulsory arbitration, in the sense of compelling both sides to submit their case to a court and finally accepting the decision, is entirely out of the ques-

tion. It could exist only under the most despotic form of government, where individual rights were practically unknown.

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### Why All Laborers Do Not Join Unions

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In view of all the persecution to which non-union men are subjected, and the protection they get by joining unions, there must be some fundamental reason why the large majority of workingmen refuse to join such unions. What is the great reason why such a mass of the workingmen persistently refuse all efforts to get them into the unions?

M. B.

A large number of workmen do not join the unions for exactly the same reason that so large a number do not join a political party, clubs, civic organizations, churches, etc. It is partly because of indifference, partly because there are dues to pay and duties to be performed. No matter what the object, if it is to save the nation from ruin, there is always a very large number who are willing to let other people do it. In the fields of ethics, social reform, general politics or whatsoever, the organized work is done by a small minority.

The non-union men really share the benefits of the efforts and sacrifices and expenditures of the union men. It took years and years, both in England and in this country, to get what are now commonplace reforms, like restriction of the hours of labor for children, popular education, even sanitation in workshops and protection to life and limb of laborers from machinery, and yet there never was more than ten or fifteen per cent. of the classes interested who earnestly joined the movements to accomplish the desired objects. But, after they were accomplished, those who never gave a penny or lifted a hand got the full benefit just the same as those who did the work. The progressive work of the world is always done by the few active and energetic, and the indifferent procrastinators join in receiving the fruits. As the sun shines upon the unjust as well as the just, so-

ciety gives benefits to the laggard as well as to the industrious. There is no fundamental reason, in the sense of valid objection, which makes so many refuse to join labor organizations, any more than to refuse to join the other numerous moral movements in society.

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### Ethics of "Class Legislation"

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In your recent lecture on "Class Legislation," you seemed almost to imply that anything whatever which benefited one class was a benefit to all. Is not that altogether too sweeping an assertion? Suppose, for instance, all manufacturers, or all bankers, or all farmers, and so on, should be exempted from taxation on the theory that their greater prosperity would benefit the whole community, would you defend such a distortion of justice? Is it not an obvious fact that there is a wide field of possible class legislation which is directly to the injury of other classes, which no politically free community would tolerate on any plea of the resulting general benefits to come through these specially favored groups? R. T. S.

It was not contended in the lecture referred to that "anything" which would benefit one would be a benefit to all. What was stated was that anything which benefits any group or class, without injuring others, is an added benefit to the nation and ultimately becomes beneficial to all.

The idea of exempting bankers, farmers, etc., from taxation is equivalent to asking if robbery and pickpocketing are beneficial. Nothing is a benefit which is unjust, and nothing is just which injures some for the benefit of others. There may be circumstances which call for some to make a slight temporary sacrifice for the benefit of others, as, for instance, the taxing of those who have no children for education; but the general benefit from education, both to those who have not as well as those who have children, is so much greater than the sacrifice involved by the slight indirect contribution in the form of school tax that it is well worth the doing from the point of view of the highest morality and civilization.



Helpful legislation should always be directed towards increasing the opportunities and possibilities of given groups to make the most of their own resources. It should take the form of protection to rights and the securing of opportunities for economic and social improvement, and by improvement of course is meant self-development. Simple acquisition, or the advantage of some at the expense of others, is in the class with stealing; but in the long run that would not be beneficial even to those who pocketed the theft, because it is demoralizing and only temporarily beneficial in a material sense. To help any group, small or great, to gain an advantage at the expense of others, is injurious to all. Such a policy would be destructive to social, political and national growth.

All benefits in the form of opportunity and stimulus for improvement necessarily come, not to all at once, but to groups, and legislation to protect or aid such opportunities for group improvement is not an injury to the whole, but, to the extent that it leads to higher development of the character, capacity and well being of the group affected, it is directly beneficial to the group and indirectly beneficial to all. That kind of "class legislation" is not only wholesome but is practically the only way in which government can stimulate and safeguard the movement of social progress.

## BOOK REVIEWS

SAVINGS AND SAVINGS INSTITUTIONS. By James Henry Hamilton, Ph.D. Cloth; 436 pages. The Macmillan Company, New York and London.

Among the immediate disciples of Adam Smith, saving was regarded as the chief economic virtue. Capital was regarded as the result of saving, and hence as the reward for abstinence. From this point of view, all the improvements in productive methods were attributed to the virtue of saving, or abstinence, and among the common people personal saving was the great social virtue. Franklin's maxim that "a penny saved is a penny earned" (which never was quite true), was the embodiment of economic teaching on the subject.

However true this theory might once have been, the progress of society has relegated it to the realm of insignificance. To-day a very small percentage of the productive capital is due to personal saving; on the contrary, it is mostly reinvested earnings, or surplus earnings. Who can ever think of the Carnegies and Rockefellers, the Goulds and Sages, the Morgans and Hills, as deriving their capital from saving through any form of personal abstinence? From what do they abstain that they have the slightest desire to possess? Whatever may have been true of the original nest-egg of capital, the great bulk of the capital to-day is not derived from personal savings.

The other aspect of the savings question relates to the individual savings of the common people, the manual workers, and it is to this phase of the question that Mr. Hamilton's book is specially devoted. It is discussed as a part of the problem of the improvement of the wage class. It is a popular assumption that the true way for laborers to avoid poverty is to save something of what they earn, be it ever so little. As in the case of capital, this was the accepted view of the early economists, and is very largely so still. Jean

Baptiste Say, who was the great French disciple of Adam Smith, laid special stress upon making it part of the training of the people that they must save a part of their incomes, and even went so far as to suggest that a modicum be withheld by the employer for that purpose. This theory is based upon the assumption that if laborers in general saved ten per cent. of their earnings they would be that much the richer.

The theory further assumes that saving is entirely independent of and has no casual relation to the amount of wages received. It assumes that the laborer's income does not depend upon his expenditures, but rather that his expenditures depend entirely upon his income. Like many other things in society, this is nearly the reverse of what it seems; it is one of the paradoxes in social movement. Of course, this view naturally grows out of the idea that wages are governed by the supply and demand of laborers, or according to the amount or quality of work they perform. But modern experience and economic study have shown that neither of these is correct, but that at the bottom the real propelling force that keeps up and raises wages is not the number of laborers, nor the amount of work the laborers perform, but their cost of living as determined by the character of their social surroundings and customs. Whatever is customary for a certain class of people to have in order to be contented enough to work, they will insist upon at the point of refusing to work, inaugurating strikes, or perpetrating almost any kind of social disturbance.

In other words, social necessity fixes the standard of their demands. For this reason, we find laborers of a certain social grade in one locality who will absolutely refuse to work for what similar laborers in another locality willingly accept. The reason for this difference is not in the quality of their workmanship, nor the supply and demand of laborers, but it is the difference in social standing by which their demands are measured in the respective places. For instance, carpenters, painters, bricklayers, etc., in New



York city, demand and will have a quarter or a third more than will be thought of in smaller cities and towns.

In order, then, really to find out how saving as a systematic social effort would affect wages and the laboring class, it is only necessary to ask how savings affect the standard of living. The standard of living is manifestly measured by the expenditures. If laborers had five dollars a day and spent only two, they would be living in a two-dollar-a-day environment. Their homes, clothing, amusements, and general social life and culture, would be in the sphere of what two dollars a day would furnish. The three dollars saved would be three dollars withdrawn from the forces that fix the social standards of living. Now, since wages are largely determined by the social standards of living, it is manifest that habitual expenditure is an important element in raising the standard of wages.

This is really a fundamental principle in the distribution of wealth through wages. It is one of the most general and obvious facts in industrial history that wages never permanently rise much above an amount that will cover the standard of living of the class in any industry or country. The employers use all their power to keep wages down as low as they can; they try to buy service at the minimum, and it could not be otherwise without incurring great waste and uneconomic expenditure. It remains always for the laborers to furnish the pressure which shall raise the wage standard. That demand must always come from them. That, too, is quite wholesome, because it makes sure that there shall be a wholesome want, verging on social necessity, before laborers create a social disturbance to obtain more wages. It also insures that when the wages have been increased for such reasons they can never be materially lowered without great risk to society. The standard of living that has become habitual to any community is the most irresistible quality in human life. Thus, when the laborers in any community have learned to have carpets on their floors, and the accompaniments that such a home implies, they cannot be reduced to the bare floor, one-room

hovel. No despotism, however complete, can force such a retrogression. It is thus that a new increment of wages, which is the synonym for welfare, becomes a permanent acquisition, not only to the individuals who get it but to all their class, and their children after them.

It is manifest, therefore, that consumption, or expenditure, is a vastly more important economic fact, and contributes more to the welfare and progress of the laboring class, than saving could ever do. Systematic saving by a whole class means systematic repression of expenditure, and that means, to the extent that it is general, checking the forces which make for higher wages. If people would live in one room and wear homespun, nothing could give them higher wages, but if they insist upon homes of several well furnished rooms, with a variety of artistic costumes, appointments and variety of clothing, nothing can prevent their wages rising to approximately equal the expense. There is not so much economic soundness, therefore, as at first appears in the theory that systematic saving is an important contribution to the social salvation of the laboring class. This social law of expenditure is a verification of the text that "unto every one that hath shall be given." The more a people as a class can normally and socially consume the more they will have, and the more they learn to do without consuming the less they will have.

Although Mr. Hamilton seems to have a glimmering of this economic truth, his book is built upon the ancient plan that the progress of the laboring class demands that they save and that saving be made a systematic feature of the laborer's life. He very truly says (page 51):

"The last-century artisan unfolded his character in the quality and the quantity of his work. The nineteenth and the twentieth century artisan must unfold his character in the way in which he spends his money. The person becomes individually and economically strong as he comes to appropriate culture for his private use. As culture creates a strong demand for the things which call out the individual from the mass, it tends to defeat the Malthusian law of population and to set at naught the Ricardian law of wages. If picture galleries are to raise the standard of living, they must influence the individual expenditure

of the artisan. It need not be in creating a demand for pictures in the home, but it must create a sense of the æsthetic which will be reflected in the architecture and furnishings of the home, or in the dress of the family, or in the flowers in the garden. The sense of the beautiful may find expression in large or small groups of expenditure, but the success of the culture institutions must be tested by such expenditures."

Nothing could be sounder than this. It is not merely spending, but the culture that comes by the consumption of things for which the money is expended. Progress comes of new desires and larger consumption, but the quality of the progress and advance in culture of a community depend upon the quality and direction of the increased desires and consumption. This, as Mr. Hamilton points out with great clearness, depends very much upon education; not mere book education or school-room training, but upon social conditions and influences; in short, the social environment by which the laborers are surrounded. Sanitation, artistic architecture, abundance of parks, green trees, and inspiring surroundings in general, have a cultivating and refining influence upon the tastes of the people in all the lines of personal consumption, so that it is a part of public policy to see that the external surroundings of the masses should be wholesome, elevating and cultivating. Dirty, neglected streets reflect themselves in the manners, homes and habits of the people.

The author has evidently made an extensive investigation into the various kinds of savings institutions in different countries, and makes very discriminating comparisons as to their effectiveness. In this respect also the book has real merit; it contains a large amount of valuable information; but, for the most part, it misses the real points of the saving problem. One thing which the author seems not to have grasped clearly is that the laboring class, as a class, cannot save, for if they should attempt it wages would drop to the level of their consumption. Saving can never take place except among the exceptional workers, who apparently can never be but a small percentage of the whole, and what is saved can be no more than an incidental



contribution to the welfare of the laboring class as a whole. Deposits in the savings banks are a great temptation, and sometimes used as a justification, for lowering wages.

For an interesting and discriminating account of the merits of different types of savings institutions, Mr. Hamilton's book is all that could be desired, but as a treatise on the influence of savings on the welfare of the masses its contribution is very slight.

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THE MUNICIPAL YEAR BOOK FOR 1902. Edited by M. N. Baker, Ph. B., C. E. Cloth, 310 pp.; price, \$3.00. The Engineering News Publishing Co., New York.

This is the first book of the kind that has come to our attention, and the amount of matter it contains relating to the subjects treated makes it an adequate directory of municipal information. Heretofore, when it was desired to obtain facts of the kind that are here compactly brought together, it was necessary to correspond directly with the officials of the various cities, a course often involving needless delays and annoyance.

The nature and scope of this work are explained in the editor's preface, where we find that it presents an outline of the leading public works and services in each of the 1,524 largest municipalities in the country. Its use is specially recommended to engineers and city officials who are thus enabled to make comparisons of places of practically the same size, and draw deductions therefrom of practical interest to themselves in their pursuits. There is an extended introduction to the work, in which the author makes copious remarks upon the statistics in the book and enlarges fully and with great clearness of detail upon the progress made as well as the deficiencies that still exist in many of our municipalities, as to the more important public improvements, namely, water works, gas, electric lighting and sewerage. The statistics in the volume show that of the 1,524 places of 3,000 population and upward, by the census of 1900, at least 1,475 have water works, 1,471 elec-

tric lights, 1,466 telephones, 1,096 sewers for household waste, 981 gas works, and 928 street railway systems.

In the first portion of the book will be found tables showing towns having water works, electric lights, telephones, water and sewerage purification plants, how different towns care for their garbage, the number of municipal bath houses, the laying of electric wires under ground, an exhibit of municipal and private ownership in the United States, etc. The second part of the book consists of an arrangement of towns according to their states and territories and the grouping of important statistics in regard to them.

The appearance of this volume reminds us once more of the urgent need that exists of a really comprehensive and authoritative work on the closely related but much broader subject of municipal government in the United States. There is a distinct field for such a work, describing the systems of government in the various municipalities, tracing their origin, indicating the political theories that have influenced their development, showing their relation to partisan politics and party organizations, describing their range of activities and the tendencies in this respect, whether towards extending or contracting the limits of municipal enterprises, etc.

It is understood that Dr. Albert Shaw has for some time had in mind, and partly in preparation indeed, a work of this sort, on municipal government in the United States, along the general lines of his able work on "Municipal Government in Great Britain." We hope its appearance may not be long delayed.

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#### NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

*The New Empire.* By Brooks Adams. Cloth, 243 pages; price, \$1.50. The Macmillan Company, New York and London.

*American Municipal Progress.* Chapters in Municipal Sociology. By Charles Zueblin. Cloth, 380 pages; price, \$1.25. The Macmillan Company, New York and London.

## CURRENT COMMENT

### Results of the Election

"Not only is free silver, which defeated the party so overwhelmingly in the last two presidential elections, utterly wiped out as an issue, but the defeat of Hill in this state, with his socialistic coal plank, and of Tom Johnson in Ohio, with his crazy-quilt platform, and the loss of Nebraska for the third time in succession under Bryan's leadership, eliminate from the presidential candidacy and the national platform in 1904 a group of men and a line of un-democratic policies and principles which would, if endorsed by the party, surely have led to another campaign of suicide."—*New York "World."*

"It was the fight of a leaderless party, with terrible internal dissensions, with no common principle and no common aim. . . . Doubtless there has never been a time in America when the opposition party understood itself less than it does today; there never was a time when it was more variedly discordant and more magnificently unled. The democracy can hope for no permanent success until it becomes one thing or the other, until it finds and unites upon its principles and gets leadership that is bounded by more than state or sectional lines."—*Springfield [Mass.] Republican.*

"One of the most significant results of last Tuesday's elections is the proof they give that the states west of the Mississippi River, from having been nearly evenly divided in 1898, have become almost solidly republican. There are fifteen states in that region, of which the republicans carried eight four years ago and the democrats seven. This year the democrats carry only one of the fifteen states.

"The following table gives the majorities in each of these states in 1898, the previous mid-presidential year, and in 1902:



States	1898.		1892.	
	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.
Iowa.....	62,500	.....	70,000	.....
Minnesota.....	20,000	.....	70,000	.....
North Dakota.....	7,800	.....	12,000	.....
South Dakota.....	.....	370	19,600	.....
Nebraska.....	.....	2,700	5,000	.....
Kansas.....	15,000	.....	40,000	.....
Colorado.....	.....	43,000	6,000	.....
Montana.....	.....	11,700	9,000	.....
Wyoming.....	1,400	.....	3,000	.....
Idaho.....	.....	5,600	7,500	.....
Utah.....	.....	5,660	6,000	.....
Nevada.....	.....	20	.....	500
California.....	19,000	.....	2,000	.....
Oregon.....	10,500	.....	17,000	.....
Washington.....	7,650	.....	12,000	.....
Totals.....	143,850	65,050	279,100	500"

—Philadelphia "Press."

"If the democrats would succeed, they must establish with the leaders of labor the relationship which the republicans have established with the leaders of the trusts. In return for financial support the republican party gives to the trusts—always predatory and usually illegal—full protection; the right to dictate laws and name executives. The democratic party must join with the laboring citizenship of the nation—the backbone of the nation. The democratic party must give to the man who works the encouragement, support, and the legal protection which the republican party gives to the trusts."—*New York American and Journal*."

"Now that the votes are counted, both republicans and democrats admit the popular admiration for the president was a great force in saving the house of representatives for the administration party and in securing heavy votes for administration candidates on local tickets. . . . The only explanation is that Mr. Roosevelt possesses qualities that are not too common among politicians. He has not sought to popularize himself, and therefore he is popular. He has not solicited the suffrages of the public, and the peo-

ple make haste to vote for men who bear his party name, even though he is not himself a candidate. He has not supplicated the favors of his party, and his party—and a good many of his political opponents—are ready to follow him unasked. There is universal confidence in Mr. Roosevelt's courage in meeting all emergencies, and in his absolute sincerity and intellectual honesty. No one believes that he would sacrifice the public interests for his party or himself, and the result is that he occupies a position of strength in the opinion of his country that has been attained by very few other men."—*New York "Journal of Commerce."*

States	58th Congress		57th Congress		States	58th Congress		57th Congress	
	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.		Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.
Alabama .....		9		9	Nevada .....	1		1	
Arkansas .....		7		6	N. Hampshire ..	2		2	
California .....	5	3	7		New Jersey.....	7	3	6	2
Colorado .....	2	1		2	New York.....	20	17	22	12
Connecticut ...	5		4		N. Carolina....		10	2	7
Delaware .....		1	1		North Dakota..	2		1	
Florida .....		3		2	Ohio .....	17	4	17	4
Georgia .....		11		11	Oregon .....	2		2	
Idaho .....	1			1	Pennsylvania ..	27	5	26	4
Illinois .....	18	7	11	11	Rhode Island...	1	1	2	
Indiana .....	9	4	9	4	S. Carolina.....		7		7
Iowa .....	10	1	11		S. Dakota.....	2		2	
Kansas .....	8		7	1	Tennessee .....	2	8	2	8
Kentucky .....	1	10	2	9	Texas .....		16		13
Louisiana .....		7		6	Utah .....	1		1	
Maine .....	4		4		Vermont .....	2		2	
Maryland .....	4	2	6		Virginia .....	1	9		10
Massachusetts ..	10	4	10	3	Washington ...	3		2	
Michigan .....	11	1	12		West Virginia..	5		4	
Minnesota .....	8	1	7		Wisconsin .....	10	1	10	
Mississippi .....		8		7	Wyoming .....	1		1	
Missouri .....	1	15	2	13					
Montana .....	1			1					
Nebraska .....	5	1	2	4					
					Total's.....	208	178	200	157

—*Probable constitution of the 58th congress as compared with the present, 57th.*

"The result of the elections contains but one lesson for the democratic party, and we may as well be honest

with ourselves and admit it. Try to disguise it as we may, the fact stands out boldly that a vast majority of the American people are not willing to trust the democratic party with the affairs of government as that party is now organized, or, rather, disorganized. This meaning is unmistakable. It has been sufficiently emphasized to remove all doubt."—*Atlanta "Journal."*

"The fact everywhere admitted that the president's personality and administration were potent factors on Tuesday last will confer upon him an influence that few presidents have had. His own renomination is no longer questioned. Those who would have it otherwise recognize it and will make themselves as agreeable as possible."—*Des Moines "Register and Leader."*

#### **The Coal Strike Arbitration**

"At the present time the United Mine Workers of America has contracts with the operators of fourteen states and districts, fixing the amount the miners shall receive per ton, the amount the various classes of labor shall receive per day, the number of hours which shall constitute a day's work, and the methods and machinery for the adjustment of local grievances by joint conference with the mine owners. These are mutual contracts which are advantageous to both miner and operator and protect the public against the effects of strikes and lockouts. The reports of the United States government on strikes in the mining industry show that the number and duration of strikes have been materially reduced each year since the system of joint conference and mutual agreement has been introduced."—*From statement by John Mitchell before arbitration commission at Scranton, Pa., Nov. 14.*

"The address was temperate in tone, as all Mr. Mitchell's public utterances have been. With the clearness of statement of a trained lawyer he set forth the position of his organization. He claimed inadequacy of wages, when the danger and the arduous character of the work are considered. He showed that the eight-hour day is the stand-



ard day in the mines of England—in the bituminous mines of the United States and in all the silver, gold and copper mines of this country. He declared that it is unjust to make the miner's ton from 2,740 to 3,190 pounds when the consumer's ton and the ton upon which railroads base their transportation charges is reckoned at 2,240 pounds. He declared that in all justice anthracite miners should be paid as much as the men who mine bituminous coal, and that their wages should be as large as the average paid to skilled labor in other fields."—*Minneapolis "Times."*

"Further answering, it [Phil. & Reading Coal & Iron Co.] says that if and when a labor organization limited to workers in anthracite mines is created which shall obey the laws of the land, respect the right of every man to work whether he belongs to a union or not, and shall honestly cooperate with the employers in securing good work, efficiency, fair production and necessary discipline, trade agreements may become practicable.

"And further answering, the company says that it does not and will not discriminate against workmen belonging to the United Mine Workers of America or any other labor organization so long as they perform satisfactory work and behave as law-abiding people should, but that the company will at all times employ any person it sees fit, and will not permit any labor organization to limit the right of employment to the members of its organization."—*From statement by George F. Baer, filed with arbitration commission.*

"This company unequivocally asserts that it will under no condition recognize or enter into any agreement with the association known as the United Mine Workers of America or any branch thereof. Nor will it permit said association or its officers to dictate the terms and conditions under which it shall conduct its business."—*From statement by President W. H. Truesdale, of D., L. & W. Ry. Co., filed with arbitration commission.*

"The continued effort of Mr. Truesdale and a few hundred or few thousand men like him to ignore labor unions, to refuse to do business with them, and to destroy

them, is simply astounding. The rights and wrongs of Mr. Truesdale's attitude need not be even discussed. It is an attitude which is simply impossible, and persistence in it can result in nothing but injury to the public welfare and even greater injury to the interests which Mr. Truesdale represents. He is waging a hopeless war.—*Chicago "Inter-Ocean."*

"In so far as the public is concerned, there is greater interest in the question of labor unionism than in any other connected with the controversy. It is expected that the commissioners will discuss this question thoroughly and that in their findings they will suggest some satisfactory solution of the relations of organized labor to mining. While their judgment will not be directly binding upon the parties, it will go far to determine public opinion, and thus indirectly will in fact settle the controversy, for what the public decides is wise and just, neither party will risk another outbreak in the coal regions to resist."—*Des Moines "Register and Leader."*

"We are unable to admire the so-called brilliant cross-examination of Mr. John Mitchell by Mr. Wayne MacVeagh, representing a coal company, at Scranton, on Monday. . . . The net result of yesterday's testimony was to add to Mr. Mitchell's prestige instead of to lessen it. . . . What the country wants to know, and what the commission is presumed to want to know, is essential facts. Why are the anthracite coal mines operated only 200 days out of more than 300 secular days in a year? Why doesn't somebody obtain an answer to that question? How much pay do the licensed miners actually receive at the present time, and how much will they get if each one is only allowed to employ one laborer, as Mr. Mitchell says the union requires? How many hours' work will then be permitted to the licensed miner each day?

"These are a few of the things that people who pay for the coal would like to know about. Cannot the members of the commission get the information? and can they not shut off all 'brilliant' cross-examinations peremptorily?"—*"Hartford [Conn.] Times."*

Morgan and  
Mitchell

"It is an open secret that his [Mr. Morgan's] was the potent influence which modified the stubbornness of the unspeakable Baer, and which dictated, if not a message of peace to the miners, at least not one of continued war. . . . We are often told that success in haute finance in these modern days is a matter wholly of cunning—that men succeed in large pecuniary transactions because they are less scrupulous than others, less bound by conscience and decency. It is therefore gratifying to learn from those who know Mr. Morgan the best that during his long business career he has never been known to practice the slightest deception, that he is brusquely frank and could not lie if he wanted to. His spoken word is reputed better than the written agreement of most men. He is said never to have built himself up by wrecking other men or wrecking property he did not control. Withal, he is a modest-living, cultivated gentleman, splurge and bluster being foreign to his character, whose charities are almost as large and numerous as his business enterprises."—*Des Moines "Register and Leader."*

"Even those out of sympathy with the objects and policy of the United Mine Workers' Union cannot withhold from its president, John Mitchell, admiration for the candor, patience and singleness of purpose he has displayed during the prolonged coal strike. . . . Although accused in certain quarters of all manner of motives and untrustworthiness in act and word, he has borne accusations, misrepresentation and taunts with such fine control of his temper as to win the confidence of the public for himself and the cause he represents. Seldom indeed has it happened that a labor leader's reputation has been enhanced through the conduct of a great strike where the temptation to abuse power seems irresistible."—*"Chicago Record-Herald."*

"Mr. Morgan's interests are too large for him to care to see any contest arouse the storm which the anthracite strike has awakened. He has always shown a shrewd knowledge of public feeling, as in the opening stages of the steel



strike and in the anthracite strike of 1900. He is as much of a statesman as a financier. His work has been best done in peace not in war. The railroads he controls have been noticeably free from labor troubles."—*Philadelphia "Press."*

"This man [Mr. Mitchell] is only about thirty years of age and a few years ago was wielding a pick in a coal mine, with small time or opportunity for conscious self-improvement. Yet when circumstances summon him into a place of grave responsibility he shows himself the mental equal, if not superior, of men who have been especially selected for power because of their supposed exceptional ability. One would not be surprised at zeal and enthusiasm for labor's cause, but this man excels particularly in discretion and calm judiciousness, and an adroitness which has kept the hot end of the poker in the other fellow's hand.

"The moral to be pointed is this: How sound must be the basis of American democracy—how intimately must the forces of education and enlightenment have permeated the masses of the people—how wholesome must be the average condition of the American people, when a man hastily called from the ranks of the laboring millions, and who might have lived and died an unknown miner had not this call so unexpectedly come, measures up to the full stature of manhood when measured against picked competitors."—*Des Moines "Register and Leader"*

"If others had been as fair and reasonable as Mr. Morgan was this strike would have been settled a long time ago. . . . We have had no quarrel with him and we wish none; we do not fear him, but prefer his friendship if he is willing to give it to us. I am creditably informed that he is friendly to organized labor. As an organizer of capital, he concedes the right of labor to organize also, and, when labor organizations are fair and conservative, he believes in dealing directly with them for the advantage of both employer and employee. It is this relationship which the United Mine Workers of America seeks in the anthracite field, and we invite Mr. Morgan to cooperate with us in securing a permanent and scientific solution of the labor

problem in this region."—*John Mitchell, interview in "New York Tribune."*

"Mr. Mitchell, however, is in a position to be informed as to the facts, and when he says Mr. Morgan has been anxious for two months to have the strike settled, more on humane than on financial considerations, he must speak from information. It quite accords with what we know of Mr. Morgan's unostentatious but extensive charities, which show that the millionaire has never lost touch of the common claims of humanity in spite of his vast accumulation of wealth. Furthermore, Mr. Morgan has never stooped to dishonest methods of business. The worst that can be said of him is that he has been a builder up of great corporations."—*Louisville "Courier-Journal."*

**Some Recent Ex-** "When, as has become clearly evident, **pressions on Com-** efforts to induce capital and labor, in every **pulsory Arbitration** case, to submit to arbitration all disputes that arise between them are failures, the public good requires that other and more effective means be taken to accomplish a settlement. . . .

"Universal arbitration can be established only by means of legislative action. . . . If only employer and employees were concerned, they might fight it out to the end without the active concern of any except humanitarians. Unfortunately, such struggles are more far reaching, more disastrous in their results. . . . A law that would settle labor disputes between employer and employee must of necessity be a compulsory arbitration law, to be strictly enforced. Moreover, the award must be final and conclusive. It must not be carelessly considered and drawn. No measure demands more careful attention or better judgment."—*Governor William A. Stone, of Pennsylvania, in "The Independent."*

"I think if the government ever wants to drive everybody into the trust form of carrying on business, that compulsory arbitration would be perfectly satisfactory. It seems to me it would kill industry. I have no faith in it

either from a moral or economic view. It is a doctrine which, so far as I know, finds no approval of organized labor anywhere. I have never known of any trades unionist or member of a trade organization of any character who approved of compulsory arbitration. While I believe in arbitration as a help—never as a solution of labor problems—it seems to me that compulsory arbitration would be a positive injury.”—*U. S. Labor Commissioner Carroll D. Wright, before the Industrial Commission at Washington.*

“Under it [New Zealand compulsory arbitration law] when a case is submitted for decision the court can declare, in keeping with the law, that if business is continued it must be in keeping with the award, unless the appeals provided for are permitted to interfere, but that if the men do not want to work they cannot be made to work nor can the employers be made to continue the business unless they want to do so. This practically means that new men may accept old conditions and business concerns may follow old practices. Unless both sides are willing, compulsory arbitration of the character presented is out of the question.

“All of the trades unionists who seek what they call compulsory arbitration are really asking for governmental control in a greater degree than now prevails; that is, they want the government to have the power to regulate the corporations and make them do right in their relations with their employees and the public. Compulsory arbitration would not guarantee anything of the kind and the chances are that it would make a bad matter worse.”—*“Railroad Trainmen’s Journal.”*

“The early settlements of differences under this [New Zealand] law appear to have been mainly in favor of the wage earners. There was a margin either in pay or hours of work, which, when a just balance was struck, was something which could apparently be credited to the wage earners, and by degrees they appear to have been able to absorb this credit. But more recently in the contentions that have arisen the decisions have been less favorable to their side of the case, and it is said a feeling has sprung up among



them that compulsory arbitration is far from being the satisfactory method of adjustment that they had at one time supposed it to be. So long as it resulted in gains to them they were naturally entirely satisfied with it; but when efforts on their part to obtain greater concessions ended in failure or when they were compelled to make concessions to their employers because of changed conditions in business, they lost faith, it is said, in the efficacy of the plan, and hence it may not be entirely unlikely that before a great while the law relating to compulsory arbitration may be repealed at the insistence of the wage earners themselves."—*"Boston Herald."*

**Southern Republicans' Exclusion of Negroes** "The action of the republican executive committee of Alabama in barring negroes from the state republican convention, notwithstanding the fact that a number of negro delegates had been elected to the convention, cannot be regarded in any other light than as a backward step, one to be deplored by all intelligent and fair-minded students of the race problem in the South."—*"Chicago Record-Herald."*

This seems to mark a new departure for southern republicans. Its apparent interpretation is: 'The colored citizens of the state have for the most part been constitutionally disfranchised. They are practically without votes, and therefore we have no further use for them. All our previous professions of friendship have been mere pretence. Justice did not enter into them. Now that the black man is of no further political benefit to us we drop him.' This is in a state, too, where the elevation of the black man has been going on at a rate that is extremely gratifying, and largely through the efforts of black men. There seems to be no exceptions made by the republican party of that state. The color line is sharply drawn. . . . The larger his advance the more determined and unreasoning is the opposition he has to meet, and the action of the Alabama republicans seems to be the last straw."—*Boston "Transcript."*

"The republican party can never make any headway in the southern states until it shall have reorganized itself upon a basis that will invite self-respecting white men to enter into the organization. It has been on trial for thirty-five years and has never risen above the level of a machinery for the delivery of votes in a national nominating convention and the receipt of official plunder for distribution among the workers. Although there are thousands of responsible and substantial men whose business interests and whose economic ideas incline them to republican principles and policies, they have held aloof because of the distasteful, we may say the intolerable, associations into which the new alliance would precipitate them.

"The republican situation at the South is now a wholesome and a hopeful one. Nobody down that way cares what northern politicians think or say. Still less do the directors of the new movement trouble themselves over the comments of northern orators and organs."—*Washington Post*."

"One of the white republicans who took this large responsibility on their shoulders was Julian H. Bingham, collector of internal revenue for the district of Alabama. President Roosevelt has summarily deprived him of his office, and has appointed in his place Joseph O. Thompson, the postmaster at Tuskegee, where Booker Washington's school is located. This Mr. Thompson, although a republican is a brother of the representative in congress from the Tuskegee district.

"Postmaster-General Payne has issued an explanation of the removal of Mr. Bingham, in which he says: 'There are a few hundred colored men in Alabama who come up to the requirements of the recently adopted state constitution and are eligible for participation in political affairs, and the action of the republican state convention referred to, in arbitrarily excluding them, is not approved; no more than such action would be approved if it were taken in Ohio or Indiana.'"—*Hartford [Conn.] Times*."

"The republican party stands for manhood suffrage.

Whatever the outcome in the southern states, men who profess to be republicans cannot compromise with that bourbon race hatred which would deprive such men as Booker T. Washington and Conkling Bruce of American citizenship. . . . President Roosevelt has done a great many things to commend himself to all classes of the people. But nothing he has done is more commendable than his prompt decision that the republican party cannot for purposes of a campaign in the South ally itself with a movement which contemplates the exclusion from the rights and privileges of American citizenship of any man because of race or color."—*Des Moines "Register and Leader."*

**English and American Labor Conditions**      The labor department of the board of trade has this week issued its detailed report upon changes in rates of wages and hours of labor in 1901. This, however, does not add much to the information given in the preliminary reports previously published, and of fresher interest, therefore, is the preliminary statement now given as to the changes in the first half of the current year. During that period it appears the downward movement in wages which characterized the year 1901 was continued. About 681,000 workpeople were affected by the changes of wages reported, and of these 32,000 obtained increases and 649,000 suffered decreases, of which latter 625,000 were employed in mining and quarrying, and 23,000 in the metal trades. The net result of all these alterations was a decrease of 1s. 9½d. in the average weekly earnings per head of all the workpeople affected. With regard to hours of labor, it is stated that, so far as reported, 12,617 workpeople had their weekly hours of labor changed in the course of the six months, the net result of all the changes being an average decrease of 1½ hours per week."—*"The Economist," London.*

"There is a warning to masters and men alike in the official report on the changes in rates of wages and hours of labor during 1901. It foreshadows a relapse from the prosperity of the last few years, a decline in wages having been



recorded for the first time since 1895. Moreover, during the first half of the present year the tendency is still toward lower wages. The number of workpeople affected by reductions in 1901 was greater than any year in the period of 1893-1901, the computed amount of reductions being more than the total reductions recorded in the previous eight years. It is estimated that the net decrease in the wages bill last year was about 1,584,000 pounds sterling, compared with a net increase of six millions in 1900. The fall in wages was confined to the mining and quarrying and the metal, engineering and shipbuilding groups of industries, there being net increases in the other groups—building, textile, clothing, etc. One most satisfactory feature in the report is, however, the fact that there was a large increase in the percentage of workpeople whose wages were settled by conciliation boards.”—*“Chamber of Commerce Journal,” London.*

“Contrary to the views of our economic theorists and pessimists, the individual man does not appear to have been obliterated in our industrial evolution. The human factor and the personal equation still count for more in the United States than they do in Europe.

“This, at least, is the conclusion of the commission from the British Iron Trade Association, which has been investigating labor conditions in the United States, and which has just made its report. The commission found that workmen in our mills not only are paid higher wages than in England but appear to enjoy a larger measure of independence, ‘based on the knowledge of the fact that work is more easy to obtain than in older countries; that they are able as a rule to save money, and are therefore less dependent than the European workman, who lives from hand to mouth. Their greater independence is also ascribed by the commission to the fact that they are living ‘under a political regime which is founded on democratic principles.’”—*Chicago “Record-Herald.”*

“English labor organizations are much stronger than our own. The members of a union in England hang to-

gether much better than they do here, and there is less internal strife to defeat the aim of the union. As a result these bodies are able to accomplish much more than their prototypes in this country. The laboring man in England, as distinct from his organization, on the other hand, is worse off than our American laborers. This is partly due to his own shortcomings, for he is not so capable as the American workman. Cooperative societies are doing a great work in England for the toilers. That they are a wonderful success is indisputable."—*Prof. John H. Gray, of Northwestern University, on return from recent investigations in England. Reported in "New York Tribune."*

"'It comes to this, then,' the *London Statist* says, 'that American labor is not more efficient, though it is better paid, than ours, and that American manufacturing development is due to the persistent, unresting industry.'

"Whether it is this persistent industry, or the comparative freedom from drinking habits, or the better pay, or the 'sagacity in the man,' developed under our more democratic institutions, or whatever the cause, it is agreed on all sides that the American laboring man is more hopeful, more efficient, and more aggressive than the English, while the English workman is the best paid and most skilled on the other side of the ocean. The conditions which have brought about this difference in favor of labor on this side of the water should be studied, and then stoutly maintained. Not least among them is likely to be found the policy of protection, which has built up our industries and created such an unexampled demand for the services of the workingman."—*Des Moines "Register and Leader."*

**The Education  
Controversy in  
England**

"The objectionable feature in the education bill is that it requires ratepayers to pay taxes for the support of a denominational (in other words, a church of England) school system, the sectarian doctrines taught in which are obnoxious to the non-conformists and other anti-churchmen in England and Wales. The principle involved is the same as that which

is represented in the anti-church-tithes movement. Non-conformists have opposed the payment of church tithes because they are applied exclusively to the support of a denominational organization which they do not attend and with which they do not agree or sympathize. To meet the opposition to the education bill the government has included a provision which really increases the trouble. If the parents of thirty children dislike the form of religious instruction given in the existing school or schools in their district, they can apply to the local authority to build a separate school, where their children may be educated and which will, of course, be undenominational, and, if the application is refused, the applicants, or the religious body to which they belong, may build a school themselves and make the public school fund support it. In other words, the ratepayers will be forced to carry a double set of schools where one only is needed, to rid themselves of the obligation of sending their children to a school in which religious instruction objectionable to them is being given. The situation may be aggravated in districts where an excess of schools may already exist. If carried out to its ultimate conclusions it will develop, of course, the costliest kind of an educational system."—*"San Francisco Chronicle."*

"Unfortunately the real crux of the education difficulty is that nobody really cares very much about education, . . . especially the education of the masses of the people. . . . Despite all its reform bills, extensions of the franchise and the like, the governing classes of England remain essentially an aristocracy. . . . 'You imagine,' said Sir John Gorst, once to me, 'that well-to-do people in England care for education. Believe me, they not only do not care for it, but they positively dislike it. If you doubt this just raise the question the next time you are at dinner in the country where you have a fairly representative gathering of the governing class. You will find that nearly every man and woman who dresses for dinner—to adopt a very simple and obvious test—thinks that over-education is one of the greatest evils of the day. Too



much education is bad for the masses. It makes them discontented with the position in which they were born; it fills their heads with high-flying notions; and the better they are educated the worse they work. The servant girl, the milkman, the plowman, are all spoiled by education. That is what they think, and therefore instead of willingly agreeing to tax themselves to make our poor education a little better they regard the sum at present expended as worse than wasted. And every penny they can save they regard not only as economy, but as preventing the spread of mischief from which they are suffering already.'

"It is this desire to keep the masses in their place, and to teach them to order themselves humbly and respectfully before their betters, that paralyzes those who really wish to give the children of England as good an education as is imparted to the children of American citizens."—*W. T. Stead*, in "*The Independent*."

"The bill will prove abortive even if it should pass. Nothing short of a divine decree can save a state church in a country so free and containing so many clear, vigorous thinkers as England. It is against the spirit of the age. It is hostile to free institutions. It is an incubus, and it is dying of dry rot. Its overfed bishops do little but doze through the sessions of the house of lords when they are not indulging too long over their dinners and their wines. The lesser clergy are absorbed, for the most part, in petty fantastic schemes for the theoretical benefit of their parishioners and themselves. What virility they have is choked and smothered by oppressive and suffocating formalisms. Supported by the public revenues, they are never spurred or inspired by the necessities that impel the nonconformist clergy to industry and zeal."—*Louisville "Courier-Journal"*.

"The ultimate consequences of this action cannot be foretold. Already a once active movement for the disestablishment of the English church, which had become quiet and nearly forgotten, is revived. It has never yet seemed dangerous, but an act like the Balfour educational bill is highly exasperating. It foment dissatisfaction, and in its

operation it would be sure to encourage a hostile agitation that might easily become dangerous under favorable conditions. There is a spirit in the endeavor that does not seem right to the citizens of a modern free nation. Such acts are more consonant with the temper of a former time. Now they are oppressive and irritant. If the bill becomes law, the succeeding strife is likely to be greater than the present one."—*Boston Herald*."

**Current  
Price  
Comparisons**

The following are the latest wholesale price quotations, showing comparison with previous dates:

	Nov. 21, 1901	Oct. 21, 1902	Nov. 21, 1903
Flour, Minn. patent (bbl. 196 lbs.)	\$3.75	\$4.00	\$4.00
Wheat, No. 2 red (bushel) . . . .	82½	78½	77½
Corn, No. 2 mixed (bushel) . . . .	67½	67½	65½
Oats, No. 2 mixed (bushel) . . . .	46½	34	36
Pork, mess (bbl., 200 lbs.) . . . .	16.00	18.75	18.00
Beef, hams (bbl., 200 lbs.) . . . .	19.00	21.50	21.50
Coffee, Rio No. 7 (lb.) . . . . .	6½	5½	5½
Sugar, granulated (lb.) . . . . .	4 <sup>9</sup> / <sub>10</sub>	4 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>10</sub>	4 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>10</sub>
Butter, creamery, extra (lb.) . . .	25	25	28
Cheese, State f.c., small fancy (lb.)	10½	12½	13
Cotton, middling upland (lb.) . . .	8	8 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>10</sub>	8 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>10</sub>
Print cloths (yard) . . . . .	3	3	3
Petroleum, refined, in bbls. (gal.)	7 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>10</sub>	7 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>10</sub>	7 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>10</sub>
Hides, native steers (lb.) . . . . .	13½	14	14
Leather, hemlock (lb.) . . . . .	24½	24½	24½
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry (ton 2000 lbs.) . . . . .	16.00	23.00	23.00
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry (ton 2000 lbs.) . . . . .	15.00	22.00	22.00
Tin, Straits (100 lbs.) . . . . .	27.50	27.75	25.15
Copper, Lake ingot (100 lbs.) . . .	17.00	12.00	11.60
Lead, domestic (100 lbs.) . . . . .	4.37½	4.12½	4.12½
Tinplate, 100 lbs., I. C., 14x20 . .	4.40	4.35	4.35
Steel rails (ton 2000 lbs.) . . . .	28.00	28.00	28.00
Wire nails (Pittsburg), (keg 100 lbs.) . . . . .	2.30	1.90	1.90
Steers, prime, Chicago (100 lbs.)	—	7.75	6.27

*Dun's Review* shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities, averaged according to importance in per capita consumption, for November 1 and comparison with previous dates, as follows:

	Jan. 1, 1892	Nov. 1, 1898	Nov. 1, 1899	Nov. 1, 1900	Nov. 1, 1901	Oct. 1, 1902	Nov. 1, 1902
Breadstuffs. . . .	\$17.700	\$12.877	\$13.282	\$13.853	\$17.840	\$17.494	\$17.564
Meats . . . . .	7.895	7.547	8.312	8.669	8.929	10.279	10.020
Dairy and garden	13.180	10.427	11.746	12.383	13.622	12.931	13.408
Other food . . . .	9.185	8.805	9.060	9.640	9.157	8.800	8.868
Clothing . . . . .	13.430	14.161	16.243	16.012	15.342	15.771	15.785
Metals. . . . .	14.665	11.505	18.372	15.077	15.876	18.736	17.383
Miscellaneous . .	13.767	12.577	15.158	15.663	16.977	16.637	16.551
Total . . . . .	\$89.822	\$77.899	\$92.173	\$91.297	\$97.743	\$100.648	\$99.579

English prices of staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*, are as follows:

	Nov. 1, 1901			Oct. 3, 1902			Nov. 7 1902		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Steel rails (long ton, 2,240 lbs.) . .	5	10	0	5	10	0	5	10	0
Scotch pig iron (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	2	14	11	2	17	9	2	17	0
Copper ( " " )	65	5	0	52	10	0	52	1	3
Tin, Straits ( " " )	114	0	0	113	17	6	117	7	6
Lead, English pig ( " " )	11	18	9	11	1	3	10	16	3
Cotton, middling upland (lb.) . .	0	0	4 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	0	0	4 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	0	0	4 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
Petroleum (gallon) . . . . .	0	0	6 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	0	0	5 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	0	0	5 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub>

(American equivalents of English money: pound — \$4.866; shilling — 24.3 cents; penny — 2.03 cents.)

The average prices of sixty railway stocks, ten industrial, and five city traction and gas stocks are given by *Dun's Review*, as follows:

	Dec. 31, 1901	Oct. 17, 1902	Nov. 21, 1902
Average, 60 railway . . . . .	102.99	110.49	105.44
" 10 industrial . . . . .	63.45	63.75	60.27
" 5 city traction, etc . . . . .	137.37	133.67	133.20



Prices of certain significant stocks on the New York stock exchange, showing range during the year, as given by *Bradstreet's*, and the asking prices of certain other stocks, as furnished by the *New York Tribune*, are as follows:

	Closing Prices		Range during 1902	
	Oct. 17, 1902	Nov. 21, 1902	Highest	Lowest
Amer. Beet Sugar (com.) . . . . .	—	—	30	30
Amer. Sugar Ref. (com.) . . . . .	125 $\frac{5}{8}$	120 $\frac{3}{8}$	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	113
Amer. Tobacco (pref.) . . . . .	—	—	151 $\frac{1}{2}$	140
Cont. Tobacco (pref.) . . . . .	121 $\frac{1}{4}$	118 $\frac{1}{4}$	126 $\frac{1}{4}$	115
Gt. Northern Ry. (pref.) . . . . .	192	186	202 $\frac{1}{2}$	181 $\frac{1}{2}$
International Paper (pref.) . . . . .	73	—	77 $\frac{7}{8}$	70 $\frac{1}{2}$
N. Y. Central R. R. . . . .	158 $\frac{1}{2}$	154 $\frac{3}{4}$	168 $\frac{3}{4}$	147
Pennsylvania R. R. . . . .	166 $\frac{1}{2}$	157 $\frac{3}{4}$	170	147
Ph. & Read. R. R. (1st pf.) . . . . .	88	86	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	79 $\frac{7}{8}$
Southern Pacific Ry. . . . .	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	65 $\frac{3}{4}$	81	58
U. S. Rubber (pref.) . . . . .	56	—	63 $\frac{1}{2}$	49 $\frac{7}{8}$
U. S. Steel (com.) . . . . .	41 $\frac{1}{8}$	37 $\frac{1}{2}$	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	35 $\frac{3}{8}$
“ “ (pref.) . . . . .	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	84 $\frac{1}{2}$	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{3}{8}$
Western Union Tel. . . . .	92 $\frac{1}{2}$	89 $\frac{1}{2}$	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	84 $\frac{3}{4}$
	Asking Prices			
	Oct. 20, 1902	Nov. 21, 1902		
North. Securities Co. . . . .	110 $\frac{3}{4}$	107 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Standard Oil Co. . . . .	675	665		
U. S. Shipbuilding (pref.) . . . . .	60	58		
Swift & Co. . . . .	165	—		

## THE WORK PRELIMINARY TO A WORLD'S FAIR

J. S. CRAWFORD

Due west from the very center of St. Louis, and six miles from the quay at the foot of Olive street, are the new buildings of Washington University. The university tract fronting east covers a hundred acres of land, lying on a plateau sufficiently elevated to command a magnificent view of Forest Park and a large portion of the best residential drives in the city.

The exposition company has leased the university grounds, with over a thousand acres of adjacent lands, lying mostly in Forest Park, upon which to erect palaces and pavilions for the next world's fair. Among these great structures, rich in towers, domes, color-work, statues, masques and statuettes, will be lagoons, meandering roadways, rustic bridges, cascades, fountains, music-stands, kiosks, plazas, flower-gardens, statue gardens, landscapes and water-scapes in the most exuberant extravagance.

In these buildings will be installed the best things which modern mechanism and free-hand art can produce. It may be that when the rich old firms of the old world bring hither their masterpieces of machinery and machine-made goods, our national pride will see the need of readjusting itself. At any rate, this is to be a world's fair, and every country on the globe will not only be welcome, but will be urgently requested to participate. The world's accomplishments in tangible things will be here. The world's synthesis in intellectual things will be represented.

How is all this to be done? Who knows where all these things, superlative of their kind, are? Who knows how to have special exhibits created and to bring the whole together on two congressional sections of land? Who knows how to classify, house and install them so that profusion does not result in confusion? If few minds comprehend after it is done, how many apprehend before it is done?

Then, every world's fair must have a climax. Steel construction was the climax at Paris in 1889. The *Tour Eiffel* and the truss roof of the *galerie des machines* impressed them-



Hon. DAVID R. FRANCIS

President, Louisiana Purchase Exposition  
Company

selves upon the entire civilized world. In 1900 it was the retrospective, evolutionary and the historic, showing the progress of a century, which became the motif and master feature of the French exhibition. In no other way could the varied riches of the great libraries, galleries, academies and museums of Paris so effectually demonstrate their value to the public mind. Its antithesis was the *Chateau d'Eau*, apotheosizing the present. I doubt if

the world has ever seen or ever will see a more beautiful view than the lake approach to our own Columbian fair in 1893;—external beauty was the glorious climax of the Chicago exhibition.

Now, who is going to conceive and contrive a new climax—an epochal climax—for our new world's fair? Nothing is more insipid than imitation. If St. Louis merely washes her face for the sake of external beauty and makes a *Tour Eiffel* 1,500 feet high, failure will be her doom. What is the new climax going to be? Who is going to design and construct it? Who is going to collect the exhibits?



Who is going to stimulate a popular desire to see them after collected? How is the money going to be raised for all this? How are the contracts going to be let and the accounts audited? Who is going to bear the loss, if any there be?—these things bring me directly to my subject: the business side of a world's fair.

Just now the busiest executive division of the fair is that of Mr. Isaac S. Taylor, director of works, a local architect of St. Louis. This division has supervision over shaping the grounds, designing the buildings, preparing drawings and specifications, letting contracts and supervising the construction. There will be no less than fifteen general exhibit buildings with a total floor space of nearly two hundred acres—greatly in excess of that ever before used by a world's fair. At Chicago there was no varied industries building; at Paris no liberal arts building. In this executive division there is a board of architects made up of the most distinguished builders in the United States. Some of the members of this board are actively engaged in preparing plans and supervising construction, while others are called in for consultation only. The purpose is to engage the best functional talent in the country.

Moreover, M. Masqueray, who is a distinguished French designer and draftsman, has been retained by Mr. Taylor to promote variety and preserve harmony in the architecture of the various buildings. In this department no less than seventy-five draftsmen, several of whom are experts from France, have been employed. The drawings are traced on paper four or five feet wide and twenty-six copies are made, so that after the official copy is filed twenty-five remain available to bidding contractors. These copies are made by transferring the pigment from the original tracings to a form of pipe-clay, and in turn all the copies desired are printed in the original colors from the clay. The process of compounding the clay seems to be a secret and has not been long in use. I have seen the plans for one building make a roll so large that an ordinary man found it quite difficult to carry.



Palace of Manufactures

The topography of the grounds is such that most of these general exhibit buildings will front upon avenues tangent to a circle, the center of which will be the fine arts palace, a permanent structure, highly elevated on a natural hill and the architectural climax of the exposition. Other avenues will radiate from this center, cutting the tangent lines at right angles and opening into spaces for the lagoons, driveways, etc.

The south half of the grounds is forested with oak, elm and some hickory. This table-land is called the plateau of states. Here will be erected the state building, always one of the most interesting features of a world's fair in the United States. Here will be the colonial exhibits, the government building, flanked on the west by the structures of foreign countries and the space of the Filipinos. Taking account of all these, with their annexes, a festival hall, depots, midway concessions (known as the Skinker Road), barracks for the Jefferson guards, a power-house, woman's department, an emergency hospital, restaurants, fire-department stations, the special structures of firms wishing to make special exhibits, the administration buildings, with a gymnasium and structures for aquatic sports and aerial contests,—it is easy to see that not less than a hundred buildings must be passed upon and supervised by the executive division of works.

The largest building will no doubt be that of agriculture, covering not less than twenty acres. Many of these buildings are different from any ever seen before in an American exposition, for they will contain courts after the French fashion. These courts will be largely decorated with designs in staff, contain flower-gardens, music-stands, promenades, twiggy shrubs, etc.

Perhaps not one man in a thousand who visits the fair will get an adequate idea of the amount of work necessary to shape and prepare the grounds for such an enterprise. More than a million cubic yards of dirt has to be moved to get levels for all the general exhibit buildings. Some of the largest grading firms in the United States have contracts, and perhaps some of the best machines ever constructed for taking out cuts and making fills are now in operation on the grounds.

Here may be seen steam-shovels, steam-plows and excavating-plows, propelled by a score of mules. Great trees have been cut down and the stumps blown out with dynamite. Over five hundred trees from eight to twelve inches in diameter have to be transplanted along the line of the lagoons and avenues. Many of the graders live in tents on the higher grounds, giving this tract the appearance of a military camp.



Mr. WALTER B. STEVENS

Secretary, Louisiana Purchase Exposition  
Company



As an index of the care taken by the authorities it may be cited that a sanitary officer makes the round of the grounds daily.

A system of sewage has been put in, connecting all the buildings with a well from which a centrifugal pump lifts the sewage to an out-fall connecting with the city pipes. A water service runs to every section of the ground and a large number of post-hydrants have been installed for fire protection. Three most beautiful fire-engine houses are on the grounds, equipped with the very best apparatus for fire extinction. One of the largest and heaviest aerial trucks ever made has been purchased by the exposition company. A large number of city firemen have been assigned to duty on the grounds, and all the facilities are tested daily. Besides this, many watchmen are employed whose sole duty it is to be on the lookout for fire and see that the precautionary measures are enforced. Scores of special police in uniform, called the Jefferson Guard, with Col. E. A. Godwin, U. S. A., commandant, are constantly on duty patrolling the grounds and buildings to prevent smoking, protect property, preserve order and act as auxiliary firemen. Then, the interior of most of the walls is coated with a fire-resisting paint and fire-stops put in for additional protection. All the wiring for lights and power has been laid underground, and its existence would never be suspected by the casual observer.

Among the temporary utilities is a belt-line of steam railway connecting outside lines on two sides and having switches to all the buildings. Car-lots of construction material and crates of exhibition goods may be discharged on the very grounds where needed.

Perhaps the most extensive preliminary work was draining the ground. The river des Peres meandered along the lowland in a course of over two miles, cutting many of the building sites into irregular pieces. This river has been confined to an artificial waterway coinciding throughout much of its course with one of the streets. The natural length of this river has been reduced one-half. This new



Blasting Out Stumps

waterway is forty-seven feet wide by fourteen feet deep and is boxed with heavy timbers and 2-inch plank. It contains two longitudinal partitions which rest on sleepers and support stringers for the upper floor, thus adding strength and breaking the force of the water. This artificial channel will be covered with asphaltum or Telford road and become one of the main thoroughfares of the grounds. This enormous drain is connected with thousands of yards of other boxed waterways, some as large as 8 by 10 feet, sheathed with plank and lined with surfaced boards. These smaller drains ramify the grounds in such a way that the intakes receive the flowing water and the inlets take care of the surface water.

These features give an idea of the engineering necessary to shape the site of a modern world's fair. However few understand the inside of an exposition, all do see the outside, hence the prime importance of unique designs and landscaping. As a pendant to Art Hill, therefore, the Louisiana Purchase Company has set aside the face of a whole bluff for terraces, shrubs, gardens and other landscape effects.

Just now the entire site is most ugly. It is cut with open ditches and disfigured with dumps of dirt wasted from the grades, trenches and lagoons. Piles of old lumber, old stumps, building material and rough temporary structures meet the eye in many directions. But a great transformation is being made. Former lines of the landscape, softened by informal treatments, are developing. In a few months the assembled whole will be transformed into a noble view,—beautified with great works and adorned with minor ones.

In this process there is much to interest an observing man. A thousand workmen are busy about the grounds. You can hear the crack of the teamster's whip and the shout of the muleteer. Traction engines are puffing and pulling immense plows alongside of heavy dumping wagons. Iron chains of steam-shovels rattle as they play over iron pulleys after hauling up great scoops of clayey earth. You hear the thump of the pile-driver and the loud panting of its engine between the blows. In a half-dozen sawmills the cut-offs, edgers and band-saws scream through boards like half human giants in distress, and in many of the buildings ship-augers, driven by compressed air, cut through timbers with surprising speed. Nearly all the sawing and framing is done in mills. Then there is the noise of hundreds of hammers, adzes and mallets, the clatter of boards and the voice of the head-rigger, not unlike that



Palace of Textiles



of a skipper on the deck of a ship. He directs how great bents and trusses shall be hoisted to their places in the roof.

New processes of releasing staff-figures from the molds have been discovered, so that figures weighing a thousand pounds, with sharp angles and clean-cut features, are hoisted with block and tackle to lookouts above the cornice line. In some places earth is blasted; in others slate is blasted; in others stumps are blown out,—all with the report of cannon. The smoke and smell of gunpowder settles down and hovers over the ground. The Jefferson Guards are on duty. The firemen are on drill. The city's mounted police may be seen. An injured man may be carried to the hospital. Then there is the set face of the boss, the shrewd face of the contractor, the distinguished face of the civil engineer or other company's officer. They have started out to build the greatest world's fair ever held, and certainly the picturesque and the grotesque are not altogether lacking, for great crowds of men and women visit the grounds every day, and they come time and time again.

The director of exhibits is the Hon. F. J. V. Skiff. Of course, much of his work so far has been tentative and preliminary. The director of exhibits must be a man thoroughly familiar not only with the physical and industrial resources of his own country but with those of other countries. He must be an organizer as well as an executive. He must know how to produce results. He must know the subtle art of combining mass, line, color and motion in order to contrast, attract and interest. In other words, he must know how to get the goods to exhibit and to install them with character and expression. He must inspire the confidence of men who have or will create these articles *de luxe*, and devise a system of awards which meets general approval.

Director Skiff has organized his executive division into fifteen departments,—the chief of each is a well-known expert or specialist. These departments are again subdivided into bureaus and the bureaus into classes, of which

there are no less than 807. These classes and categories are intended to be universal, comprehending the material, mental, moral, charitable, spiritual and philosophical. In these groups there must be juries appointed and awards made by men thoroughly familiar with the merits, inherent, absolute and relative, of the exhibits before them. These things show the class of talent required at the head of Mr. Skiff's executive division.

As the work of this division develops, an entire magazine article will be required to expound it. Suffice it to say that perhaps no man in the United States is better fitted to direct this division than Mr. Skiff. He is a member of various scientific societies and museum associations, and has been decorated by foreign governments for exposition work. In this fair, mechanical methods and productive processes will be a dominating feature, but the historic and evolutionary development of the domain known as the Louisiana Purchase into twelve great states of the federal union will be the predominating feature.

Closely allied to the division of exhibits is that of publicity. Public sentiment must be aroused and interested. Every interest and every state in this country must be changed from a passive to an active attitude. Legislators must be interviewed. Legislative committees must be convinced. Appropriations must be secured. Congressional leaders must be sought. The whole system of promotion must be set in motion from the bottom. All this means that the governors of the various states and the president of the United States must be induced to lend their good offices to the enterprise. The right agents must be sent to foreign countries and the advantages of participating shown. Foreign manufacturers, artists, inventors, investors, scholars and explorers must be sought and urged to show the world what they have. Then, a great desire on the part of the general public to attend must be created; and this means an extensive press bureau, a vigilant clipping bureau with good reportorial skill. It has been announced that a new York office will be opened to promote the interests of the

fair in the East and insure its success at the Atlantic seaboard. Auxiliary to all this a beautiful building was recently completed on the grounds and dedicated to the use of members of the press. Nearly a hundred Chicago newspaper men made a pilgrimage to St. Louis to help in the dedicatory ceremony.

Besides these three divisions there is still another, the division of admission and concessions. In these later years the different phases of colonial life have taken on new importance. The midway plaisance at Chicago was a feature of great popularity, and the African colonies around the Trocadero at Paris always drew the largest crowds. It is too early to write at length of this division at St. Louis. A reproduction of ancient Jerusalem, another of the casino at Monte Carlo, a monstrous old woman in her shoe, a gigantic barrel with four floors, are mentioned as among the possibilities. It is said that there are well-nigh a thousand applications for entertainment features, refreshment stands, etc. Extensive preparations are contemplated for the most delightful music programs. Mr. Norris B. Gregg is director of this division, and the public has been assured that there will be no lack of diversion and instructive amusements. \$150,000 is offered for prizes in the air-ship tournament alone.

These four executive divisions are practically the working organs of the St. Louis world's fair, which will open its gates to the public May 1, 1904, to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the purchase of the Louisiana territory from Napoleon the First. Certainly the prodigious development of the twelve states and two territories carved out of that domain is a sufficient warrant for this universal exposition. These four executive divisions are somewhat of a departure from previous organizations of universal expositions. Hitherto the rule has been to lodge the power of execution in a general officer, denominated a director general.

It remains to speak of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, a business corporation, which stands behind





Mr. ISAAC S. TAYLOR, Director of Works

and above the four executive divisions above described. This corporation is composed of 93 directors, mostly business men of St. Louis. This directorate is organized with nine standing committees, of which the executive committee is the senior. The president of this corporation is Hon. David R. Francis of St. Louis. Mr. Francis has had large experience in large affairs, having been mayor of St. Louis, governor of the state

of Missouri, and member of President Cleveland's second cabinet. His extensive acquaintance with politicians and public men, as well as his great personal popularity and reputation as a successful business man, have been positive aids in financing and promoting this stupendous undertaking. Mr. Walter B. Stevens, who is secretary of the corporation, is a man of rare literary attainment and an old Washington correspondent. In this capacity he familiarized himself with the methods of public business and enjoys a wide acquaintance in official life. Mr. Stevens is at present acting as the director of publicity. The competency of both these executive officers was made manifest in the allotment of sites for the state buildings. This ceremony occupied two days, and the sites were received by governors of the various states or by their representatives. To make so many presentation speeches, each one apt and apropos,

and to prepare the program so that the ceremonies neither failed nor lagged, required skill and resource of the highest sort. It was done.

This corporation has secured the largest amount of money ever financed for a world's fair. Citizens of St. Louis contributed \$5,000,000; the municipality \$5,000,000; the state of Missouri \$1,000,000; the United States government \$6,290,000, and \$250,000 for a Filipino exhibition. Many of the states have appropriated large sums, so that the total now is not far from \$20,000,000; and when the foreign appropriations are all made and the exposition complete it will represent an investment of perhaps \$30,000,000. The administrative offices of the corporation are in the fire-proof buildings of Washington University. Indeed, the exposition will occupy four or five of these buildings until the exhibits are dismantled and the business of the corporation wound up. These buildings are red Missouri granite, trimmed with Bedford stone, and they are built around quadrangles after the style of English universities. The architecture is a close adaptation to the Tudor Gothic, surmounted with towers, thus furnishing a splendid adjunct to the official architecture of the exposition proper. These buildings, in which are engaged nearly 300 clerks, have already cost \$740,000. In one of these will be held the international congresses from which emanate the best and most



Palace of Transportation

abiding influence of universal expositions, denominated by President McKinley as "the timepiece of progress." On the walls of the universe hangs God's clock. It may tick once in a hundred years or once in a thousand,—it matters not. Certainly it marked an epoch in the world's progress when Louisiana became a peaceable possession of these republican states. It is that event we are now to celebrate.

### WHERE THE COAL PROFITS COME IN

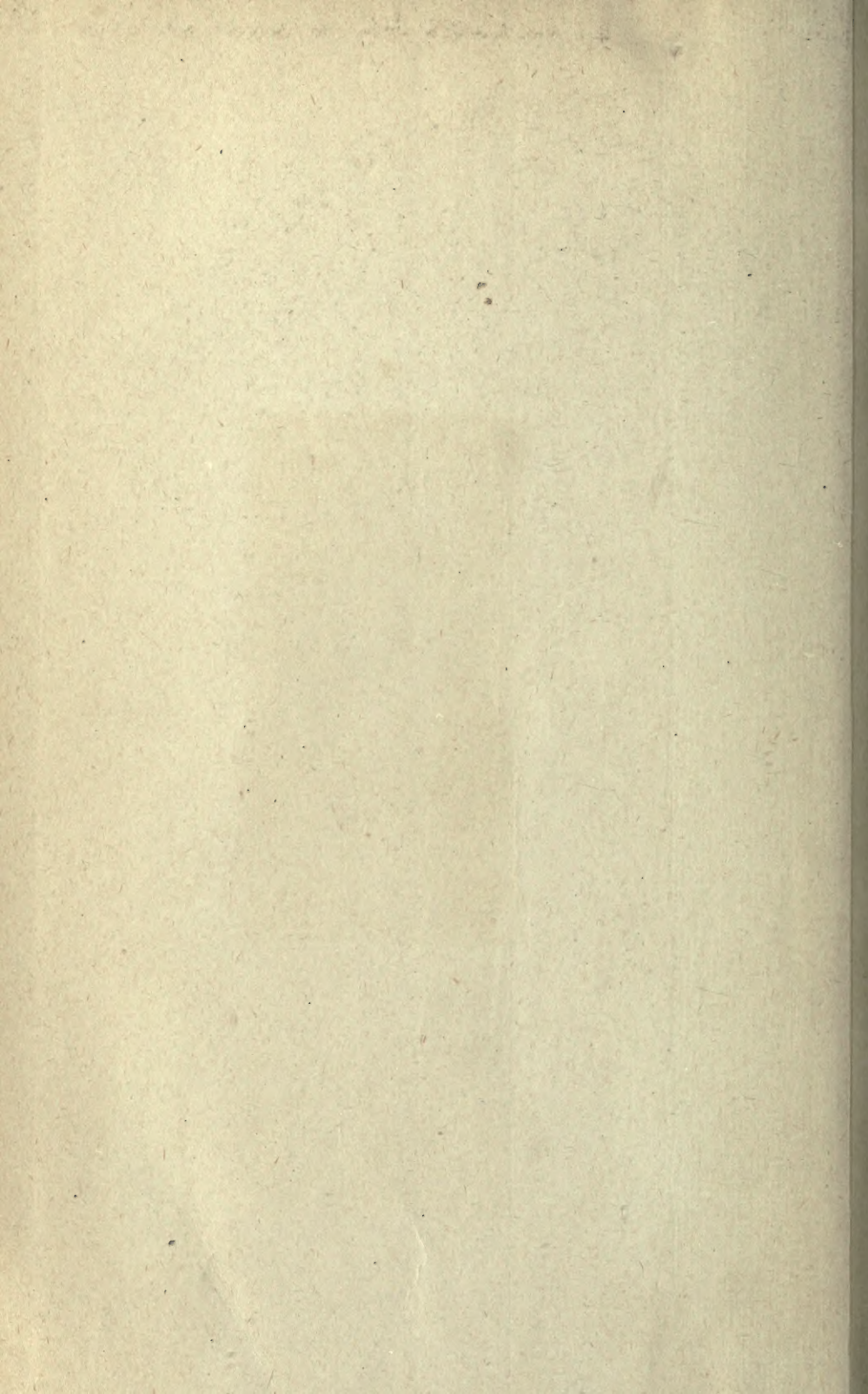
It has been frequently suggested that in order to make a showing of small profits the anthracite coal companies, which are really the railroad companies, charge themselves exorbitant freight rates and thus draw their profits in railroad dividends instead of coal dividends.

While one is reluctant to believe that such maneuvering would be indulged in by large capitalists, in the absence of explanation the following table of comparative freights on anthracite and bituminous coal for similar distances, compiled from a statement prepared under the direction of the Interstate Commerce Commission, in October, 1902, certainly lends color to the suggestion:

	Miles	Rate Per Ton Per Mile	
		Rate Per Ton	(Decimal of a cent)
Anthracite region to Boston.....	345—387	\$3.25	.84@ .94
Bituminous region to Jersey City....	346—388	1.70	.44@ .49
Anthracite region to Perth Amboy..	133—173 (for New York)	1.55	.89@1.16
Bituminous region to Jersey City....	346—388	1.70	.44@ .49
Anthracite region to Baltimore.....	179—224	2.00	.89@1.12
Bituminous region to Baltimore....	229—240	1.45	.60@ .63









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